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New York City

SEVENTH ANNUAL RECORD OF
ASSEMBLIMEN AND SENATORS

15583.52



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**"WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO
ABOUT IT?"**

SEVENTH ANNUAL RECORD

OF

ASSEMBLYMEN AND SENATORS,

FROM THE

(CITY) OF NEW YORK -

IN THE

STATE LEGISLATURE

1892

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL AND OTHER AUTHENTIC
SOURCES

AND
PUBLISHED BY THE CITY REFORM CLUB, 47 CEDAR ST.

ADDITIONAL COPIES MAY BE HAD ON APPLICATION

The City Club:

NOTE I.—THE “CONSOLIDATION ACT,” Chapter 410 of the laws of 1882, is entitled, “An act to consolidate into one act and to declare “the special and local laws affecting public “interests in the City of New York,” and contains the greater part of the laws relating to the government of the city.

NOTE II.—The legislature of 1892 was divided as follows between the parties:—

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IN NEW YORK CITY UNDER THE RECENT APPOR-
TIONMENT.

MAP SHOWING THE WARDS OF NEW YORK CITY.

STATE ASSEMBLYMEN FROM NEW YORK CITY.—Legislature of 1892.

NAME.	DISTRICT	POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	BORN	PLACE OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.
Patrick H. Duffy	1	Tammany Democrat	Liquor Dealer	1847	Cork, Ireland	Irish.
Timothy D. Sullivan	2	" " "	"	1863	New York City	"
Percival Farquhar	3	" " "	Commission Merchant	1863	York, Penn	American.
Patrick H. Roche	4	" " "	Liquor Dealer	1852	Ireland	Irish.
Dominick F. Mullaney	5	" " "	Manager Shoe Store	1854	New York City	"
Samuel J. Foley	6	" " "	Law Clerk	1862	Quebec	Irish Canadian.
Alfred R. Conkling	7	Republican	Lawyer	1850	New York City	American.
Philip Wissig	8	Tammany Democrat	Liquor Dealer	1848	Germany	German.
William H. Walker	9	" " "	Builder	1849	Ireland	Irish.
William Sohmer	10	" " "	Manager Branch Office of Insurance Co.	1852	Wurttemburg, Germany	German.
William N. Hoag	11	Republican	Sec'y Cement Co.	1861	New York City	American.
Moses Dinkelspiel	12	Tammany Democrat	Not known	1835	"	German.
James H. Southworth	13	" " "	Lawyer	1850	New Berlin, N. Y.	American.
William Sulzer	14	" " "	"	1863	Elizabeth, N. J.	German.
Louis Drypolcher	15	" " "	Fine Art Dealer	1851	New York City	"
Walter G. Byrne	16	" " "	Not known	1859	"	Irish.
Thomas J. McManus	17	Voorhies Democrat	Contractor	1864	"	"
Daniel F. Martin	18	Tammany Democrat	Lawyer	1865	"	"
John Connally	19	" " "	Real Estate Dealer	1857	Ireland	"
Myer J. Stein	20	" " "	Lawyer	1865	New York City	German.
Louis H. Hahlo	21	" " "	"	1865	"	American.
William J. O'Dair	22	" " "	Machinist	1862	Kempville, Ont.	Irish-Canadian and American.
George P. Webster	23	" " "	Lawyer	1858	Watertown, Conn.	American.
James L. Wells	24	Republican	Real Estate Dealer and Auctioneer	1843	West Farms, N. Y.	"

STATE SENATORS FROM NEW YORK CITY.—Legislature of 1892.

NAME.	DISTRICT.	POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	BORN	PLACE OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.
William L. Brown	5	Tammany Democrat	Editor <i>Daily News</i>	1840	Chittenden Co., Vt.	Irish.
John F. Ahearn	6	" " " " "	Not known	1853	New York City	"
George F. Roesch	7	" " " " "	Lawyer	1855	" " " " "	German.
Martin T. McMahon	8	" " " " "	" " " " "	1838	La Prairie, Can	Irish.
Edward P. Hagan	9	" " " " "	Not known	1846	New York City	"
Jacob A. Cantor	10	" " " " "	Lawyer	1854	" " " " "	English.
George W. Plunkett	11	" " " " "	Harbor transp'tn	1842	" " " " "	Irish.

SUMMARY FOR 1892.

ASSEMBLYMEN.				SENATORS.			
POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.	POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.
Tammany Demo- crats	Lawyers	7 America	16 Irish	Tammany Demo- crats	Lawyers	3 America	6 Irish
20	Liquor Dealers	4 Ireland	4 German	7	Editor	1 Canada	1 German
3	Not known	2 Canada	7 American	7	Not known	2	2 English
.	Real Estate D'l'r	2 Germany	2	Harbor transportation	1	1
.	Insurance	1	1
.	Man'r Shoe Store	1	1
.	Law Clerk	1	1
.	Fine Art Dealer	1	1
Voorhies Demo- crat	Com'n Merchant	1	1
.	Builder	1	1
.	Sec'y Cement Co.	1	1
.	Contractor	1	1
.	Machinist	1	1

SUMMARY FOR 1891.

ASSEMBLYMEN.

ASSEMBLYMEN.		SENATORS.					
Politics.	Occupation.	Country of Birth.	Parents.	Politics.		Occupation.	Country of Birth.
Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	America 16	Irish 11	Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	4	America 6
	Liquor Dealers	Ireland 4	German 4		Editor	1	American 2
Republicans	Not Known	Canada 2	American 6	County Democrats	Brewer and Mfr	1	Irish
	Insurance	Germany 1			Not Known	1	German
	Manager Shoe Store	Bavaria 1		Republicans		1	English
Independent	Dry Goods Clerk						
Democrat	Fine Art Dealer						
	Retired Merchant						
	Commission Merchant						

ASSEMBLYMEN.

ASSEMBLYMEN.		SENATORS.					
Politics.	Occupations.	Country of Birth.	Parents.	Politics.		Occupation.	Country of Birth.
Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	America 16	Irish 11	Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	4	America 6
County Democrats	Liquor Dealers	Germany 4	German 8		Editor	1	American 2
	Not Known	Ireland 3	American 3	County Democrats	Brewer and Mfr	1	Irish
Republicans	Mgr Shoe Store	England 1	Welsh 1		Not Known	1	German
Independent	Machinist			Republicans		1	English
Democrats	Sec'y Cement Co.						
	Manager Branch Office						
	Insurance Company						
	Mfg. Mineral Water						
	Carpenter						
	Retired Merchant						

SUMMARY FOR 1890.

ASSEMBLYMEN.		SENATORS.					
Politics.	Occupations.	Country of Birth.	Parents.	Politics.		Occupation.	Country of Birth.
Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	America 16	Irish 11	Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	4	America 6
County Democrats	Liquor Dealers	Germany 4	German 8		Editor	1	American 2
	Not Known	Ireland 3	American 3	County Democrats	Brewer and Mfr	1	Irish
Republicans	Mgr Shoe Store	England 1	Welsh 1		Not Known	1	German
Independent	Machinist			Republicans		1	English
Democrats	Sec'y Cement Co.						
	Manager Branch Office						
	Insurance Company						
	Mfg. Mineral Water						
	Carpenter						
	Retired Merchant						

SUMMARY FOR 1889.

ASSEMBLYMEN.

POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.
Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	United States	Irish	12	
	Not Known	5	German	6	American 2
Republicans	Liquor Dealers	Ireland	American	5	German 2
County Democrats	Not Known	Germany	Hungar'n	2	Irish 2
	Second-hand Sals, etc.	England	1	1	English 1
	Shoe Dealer	1			
	Machinist	1			
	Carpenter	1			
	Kent Collector	1			
	Retired Merchant	1			
	Grain, Malt and Hop Dealer	1			

SENATORS.

POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.
Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	United States	Irish	12	
	Not Known	5	German	6	American 2
Republicans	Liquor Dealers	Ireland	American	5	German 2
County Democrats	Not Known	Germany	Hungar'n	2	Irish 2
	Second-hand Sals, etc.	England	1	1	English 1
	Shoe Dealer	1			
	Machinist	1			
	Carpenter	1			
	Kent Collector	1			
	Retired Merchant	1			
	Grain, Malt and Hop Dealer	1			

SUMMARY 1888.

ASSEMBLYMEN.

POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.
Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	United States	Irish	12	
	Liquor Dealers	3	American	6	
County Democrats	Not Known	Ireland	4	United States 4	
	Law Clerk	4	German 2	Irish 2	
Republicans	Salesman	Germany	2	American 2	
Purroy Democrat	Second-hand sal's	England	1	German 2	
	Collector	1	French 1	Irish 2	
	Machinist	1			
	Accountant	1			
	Butcher and M'r'r	1			
	Surveyor	1			
	Secretary	1			
	Retired Merchant	1			
	Builder, and coal	1			
	Ice Dealer	1			

SENATORS.

POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.
Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	United States	Irish	12	
	Liquor Dealers	3	American	6	
County Democrats	Not Known	Ireland	4	United States 4	
	Law Clerk	4	German 2	Irish 2	
Republicans	Salesman	Germany	2	American 2	
Purroy Democrat	Second-hand sal's	England	1	German 2	
	Collector	1	French 1	Irish 2	
	Machinist	1			
	Accountant	1			
	Butcher and M'r'r	1			
	Surveyor	1			
	Secretary	1			
	Retired Merchant	1			
	Builder, and coal	1			
	Ice Dealer	1			

SUMMARY 1887.

ASSEMBLYMEN.				SENATORS.			
POLITICS.	Occupation.	Country of Birth.	Parents.	Politics.	Occupation.	Country of Birth.	Parents.
County democrats	Lawyers	9 America	18 Irish	Tammany democrats	Not Known	4 America	4 Irish
	Liquor Dealers	12 Ireland	3 American		Lawyer	1 Ireland	3 American
Tammany democrats	Not Known	3 Germany	2 German	County democrats	Merchant	1	1
	Accountant	1 England	1 Hungarian		Harbor transportation	1	1
Republicans	Real estate agent	1	1		Scotch	1	1
Independent	Machinist	1	1		English	1	1
Democrat	Manufacturer	1	1		Scotch	1	1
	Painter	1	1		American	1	1
	Butcher	1	1			1	1
	Surveyor	1	1			1	1

SUMMARY FOR SIX YEARS, 1887-92.

(NUMBER OF ASSEMBLYMEN, 76.)

(NUMBER OF SENATORS, 19.)

POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.	POLITICS.	OCCUPATION.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	PARENTS.
Tammany Democrats.	Lawyers	29 United States	Irish	Tammany Democrats	Lawyers	Irish	Irish
County Democrats	Liquor Dealers	29 United States	German	Not Known	Not Known	United States	American
Not Known	Butchers	8 Ireland	Amer'n	County Democrats	Merchant	Ireland	Irish
Butchers	Second-hand Office Furniture and Sales	2 Germany	Scotch	County Democrats	Brewer and Manufacturer	Germany	German
Independ't. Democrats	Shoe Dealer	1 Canada	English	Republicans	Harbor Trust'n	Canada	English
Patrooy. Democrat	Accountant	1 England	Hung'n	Note.—Entered as Scotch	Insurance Broker	Canada	Irish Canadian
Voorhies Democrat	M'r. Butchers' Supplies	1 Amer'n	Amer'n	County Democrat and Editor	Editor	Canada	Indian
NOTE.—Entered as County Democrats and Under-taker as Tammany Democrats.	Real Estate Agt.	1	French	NOTE.—Entered as Tammany Democrat	Lawyer	Canada	NOTE.—Entered as Lawyer
Entered as County Democrats and as Independent Democrats	Machinist	2	Welsh	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Ice Dealer	Salesman	1	Canadian	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Painter	Manager of Mfg. Co.	1	Amer'n	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Builder, Coal and Wood Retired Merchant	Coll'r for Brewery	1	French	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Law Clerks	Law Clerks	2	German	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
M'r of Mineral Water	M'r of Mineral Water	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Carpenter	Carpenter	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Painter	Painter	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Builder, Coal and Wood Retired Merchant	Builder, Coal and Wood Retired Merchant	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Sec'y Electric Light Co.	Sec'y Electric Light Co.	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Hop Dealer	Hop Dealer	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Surveyor	Surveyor	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Manager Branch Office	Manager Branch Office	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Insurance Co.	Insurance Co.	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Sec'y Cement Co.	Sec'y Cement Co.	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Dry Goods Clerk	Dry Goods Clerk	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Insurance Broker	Insurance Broker	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Fine Art Dealer	Fine Art Dealer	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Commission Merchant	Commission Merchant	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Builder	Builder	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Contractor	Contractor	1	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer
Real Estate Brokers	Real Estate Brokers	2	Irish	not Known and as Lawyer	not Known and as Lawyer	Canada	not Known and as Lawyer

NOTE.—Entered as Liquor Dealer and as Lawyer
 as Under-taker and as Liquor Dealer
 as Butcher and as Not known
 as Carpenter and as Liquor Dealer
 as Not known and as Real Estate Broker
 as Dry Goods Clerk and as Law Clerk

OFFICE OF
THE CITY REFORM CLUB,
STOKES BUILDING,
47 Cedar Street.

NEW YORK, October, 1892.

The City Reform Club issues its seventh annual record of the representatives of New York City in the state legislature. The record is the result of careful observation of the course of the members in both houses during the past session, and of the study of official publications relating to the legislature. The statements made have been weighed with care, and the conclusions drawn rest upon well attested facts. The City Reform Club, being strictly non-partisan, has sought to make this record a faithful and impartial account of the legislative work of the thirty-one members from New York City, and to give the reader an accurate idea of the men to whom the interests of the city are entrusted, and of the manner in which these men have discharged this trust.

While a member's votes are an important part of his record, these alone do not furnish an accurate test of the value of his work as a legislator. Bad votes are sometimes the result of honest mistake; and good votes are sometimes cast from unworthy motives. Nor do the bills introduced by him furnish such a test. Many members do not introduce enough bills to constitute a test, and many introduce bills without having given them due consideration. In some

cases, therefore, the estimate of a man's ability and character may seem not to harmonize with his record in voting and in introducing bills. In such cases it is to be understood that sources of information other than the official records have been relied upon. It has been found possible to establish in various ways the facts used in the compilation of this pamphlet, without relying upon mere rumors. Indeed, these facts as presented make it evident that an intelligent man observing the legislature in Albany during the session, can readily form a correct opinion as to the character of individual legislators, and as to their manner of serving the people.

It is necessary to point out as explanatory of the course of the legislators who are elected by the political machines, that a system of discipline has been established which has taught the obedient to count upon favors and advancement, and the refractory to expect political death. In private conversation, the New York democratic assemblyman will occasionally give his opinion on a pending measure, but will add that he will of course vote according to instructions from Tammany Hall. This system has resulted in giving us as democratic members from this city, either young men who have concluded that their chances for political advancement lie in obedience to their political bosses, or "old war horses" who have long had the confidence of their organization.

This growing power of the managers of the political parties in controlling the legislature has been spoken of in the records of previous years. The session of 1892 marked the culmination of that control. The most alarming feature of the session was the absolute docility of the democratic members, who, finding themselves in the majority in both branches for the first time in years, proceeded to carry out the schemes of the most unprincipled of their leaders,

whether such schemes were purely partisan measures or involved merely the financial interests of their bosses.

The session was marked by the introduction of numerous measures designed to drain the treasury of the City of New York, and by grants to corporations of valuable public franchises without provision for adequate return to the public treasury, and in defiance of existing laws. It is especially noteworthy that these measures were put through under the supervision of the political lobby.

In character and intelligence the New York City delegation was above that of 1891, as that delegation was an improvement on those of previous years. But this gain was offset by the development of the system of machine control.

EXPLANATION OF THE COURSE OF BILLS IN THE LEGISLATURE.

The City Reform Club aims to include in each issue of its record such information as will enable the reader unfamiliar with the rules and the proceedings of the legislature to form a correct idea of the manner in which business is done in that body, and of the influences surrounding senators and assemblymen.

The following statement of the manner of transacting business relating to bills in the legislature, and the sketch of that potent and persistent influence known as the lobby, will help the reader to form such an idea.

The annual session of the legislature begins upon the first Tuesday in January, and usually lasts until May.

The bills introduced in the legislature come from various sources ; and members introduce them with various motives,—to obey the dictate of “boss” or party, to oblige a friend or

a constituent, to secure some personal benefit from a change in the law, to extort money from persons or corporations whose business interests are threatened by the proposed legislation, to make a good "record," and in some cases to work some public benefit. That they are commonly drawn carelessly and by incompetent hands, is seen in the awkward, incoherent, and contradictory laws that are poured forth at the rate of over nine hundred printed pages a year. As a rule, neither the legislature nor the public has any exact information as to the authorship of bills. No one is responsible for their form or accuracy. A "strike" is a bill introduced for the purpose of extorting money from those whose interests would be injuriously affected by the passage of the bill. The provisions of a "strike" may be good, the motive with which the bill is introduced determining whether it is a "strike."

BILLS IN SENATE.

When a bill is introduced in the senate, it is read the first time, and is also read immediately the second time. The "first reading" is merely the recital by the clerk of the senate of the enacting clause of the bill, and the "second reading" is a hurried announcement of the title. The bill is then referred by the presiding officer to a standing committee, properly to the standing committee having charge of legislation on the subject upon which the bill bears. But in some cases the presiding officer will refer bills to inappropriate committees, for the purpose of advancing or retarding the bills. Except by unanimous consent, bills introduced after a certain day, usually the 15th of March, cannot be finally passed while any bills introduced on or before that day remain on the calendar awaiting action. This rule does not apply to the annual appropriation and supply bills. When a bill introduced has been defeated by vote in either house,

the same bill, or a bill containing the same provisions, can not be introduced again during the same session unless by unanimous consent. The fate of most bills is decided in committee. A determination upon the part of the committee to smother or to kill a bill will commonly be successful. The committee may give notice that at certain times it will hear arguments for and against the bill; and at such times any advocates or opponents of the bill may appear before the committee and speak. The committee may report the bill to the senate, with or without amendments.

If a bill is reported favorably by a standing committee, and the report is accepted by the senate, the bill is then printed. A disagreement with a favorable report would send the bill back to the committee; but such a disagreement rarely takes place. If a bill is reported unfavorably, and the report is accepted, the bill is dropped, and can be brought up for consideration only by a vote of the senate.

After the report of the standing committee, the bill is considered in committee of the whole. In that committee the bill may be amended, or another bill upon the same subject may be substituted. No record of the votes in committee of the whole is kept. That this is so is to be regretted; for the committee of the whole, while a committee in name, is in fact and effect the senate itself. Thus, the committee of the whole may be used by dishonest members as a screen for crookedness. The theory upon which the committee of the whole exists, is that at some point in the consideration of a measure members ought to have an opportunity to talk and to vote more freely than strict parliamentary rules will allow, and without the restraint imposed by an official record of the proceedings.

During the session of 1889 and 1890, an official publication known as the "*Legislative Record*" was issued daily

in Albany. It contained some valuable material which did not appear in any other official publication. It proved to be an aid to those wishing to follow legislation. It was discontinued in 1891, no appropriation having been made for it.

Often a bill is introduced in both houses. If such a bill passes one house and goes to the other, the bill as introduced in the second house may be dropped, and action is then taken only on the bill as received from the first house. But the two bills may be treated in all respects as separate and independent. By formal motion either bill may be substituted for the other.

Upon a bill as printed in either house, the letters "G. O.," followed by a number, indicate the place of the bill in general order; the mark "Int.," followed by a number, is used to show the order in which bills are introduced. The phrase "general order" refers to the order of considering bills in committee of the whole. The third number upon a bill, "No. —," is given when the bill is printed, and by it the bill is commonly cited. The mark "3d Rdg." or "Special order" when substituted for the letters "G. O." upon a bill, denotes that it has been advanced to its third reading or placed upon its final passage out of its general order. As a new number is given to a bill each time it is printed, and as bills are often printed afresh after undergoing amendments, a bill may appear under two or more numbers. The introductory number, however, remains unchanged. The date upon a printed bill is the date of introduction. Some bills introduced are never printed.

A member may introduce a bill "by request," either with or without a statement of the source of the request. But this manner of introducing a bill should not be regarded as diminishing the introducer's responsibility for the bill.

BILLS IN ASSEMBLY.

Until the session of 1890, the rules in the assembly were the same as in the senate, but at that session new assembly rules were adopted, changing the manner of conducting the business of the house in several important particulars. Bills are now introduced by being deposited in duplicate in a "bill box," from which they are taken at the close of each day's session,—one being placed upon file for public inspection, and the other being given to the speaker, who at the next daily session refers it to a committee.

The first reading of a bill is simply an announcement of its title by the clerk ; but the second reading is consideration of it at length, and in great measure does away with proceedings in committee of the whole. The third reading of a bill is consideration of it upon final passage. It is still possible by a two-thirds vote to have a committee of the whole, but not usual. During the past session an amendment to the rules was adopted permitting the committee on rules to report any bill as a "special order" for the consideration of the house at any time, which report could not be rejected except by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Before the adoption of this amendment it was possible to advance a bill out of its "general order" only by a two-thirds vote of the members present. This new rule was adopted upon the plea that it was necessary to facilitate business, and to advance important bills which otherwise might be lost. The power thus given to the committee is large, but in such a body as the assembly, in which many matters of small importance are pending, it would be useful if exercised with discretion. In other respects proceedings in the assembly are the same as in the senate.

Each assembly bill is now printed exactly as introduced ; upon being amended it is printed afresh, and each time

receives a new number, the numbers previously given to it being retained. This change is an improvement. The wider and speedier publicity thus secured has had a tendency to prevent the introduction of various petty strikes, and other bills of bad character. As a whole, the rules of the assembly are decidedly better than those of the senate.

THE LOBBY.

The lobby has been for years one of the most characteristic features of American legislatures, and its pernicious influence one of the worst elements in our political life.

Broadly speaking, the lobby comprises those who endeavor to affect legislation by personal solicitation of members. The means used to influence legislation may be legitimate, and, indeed, praiseworthy; as when persons especially versed in subjects awaiting legislative action appear voluntarily, or at the request of the legislative body, and urge their views upon its members. Many of our most public-spirited citizens are lobbyists in this sense. On the other hand, the methods of gaining support may be corrupt; as when votes are deliberately purchased. Between these extremes is a borderland where nice questions of ethics might arise. In the State of New York the phrase "the lobby" is always used to designate those who employ undoubtedly vicious methods in lobbying. It results that the word "lobbyist" is ordinarily used to designate only corrupt lobbyists.

The term "Black Horse Cavalry" is used to denote such Assemblymen as are banded together for the purpose of exacting tribute from persons or corporations interested in legislation. Their combination enables them to wield a

- compact body of votes for or against a measure, and to command a good price for their services.

The methods of bribery adopted by the lobby are various; the simplest and commonest is the direct payment of money to members for their votes.

Within the last year or two, a more insidious and much more effective method has become common;—namely, bargains between the party bosses and those interested in legislation, by which the bosses undertake to deliver the party vote in the legislature in return for contributions or services to the party. The safety and the security, as well as the convenience, of this method of bribery, are apparent. A corporation desiring to affect legislation is no longer obliged to engage professional lobbyists to violate the law by bribery; it may make a direct bargain with the boss of the majority, by which, for the payment of a sufficient contribution, the passage of favorable measures or immunity from legislative strikes is guaranteed. In case the governor is in the "combine," the result is placed beyond peradventure. With this system perfected in both parties, powerful corporations could at all times control legislation without reference to the public interests. The government of the state being through political parties, the corruption of the party management is in effect corruption of the state government itself. The power placed in the hands of the party managers gives them enormous opportunities to use the party machinery for their own ends, as the very nature of the transaction makes it impossible for the party at large to hold them to a strict accountability. The interests of the people are thus sacrificed to those of the party; and the interests of the party to those of the bosses.

Formerly the members of the "Third House," as the lobbyists were sometimes called, were well known. They maintained constant intercourse with members of the legis-

lature, and were liable to rebuff and exposure. Several exposures drove many of these lobbyists from Albany four or five years ago. As a result, there has been less appearance of evil at Albany than formerly, while in fact bad measures were never more expeditiously passed than during the last session.

“THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD ACT.”

LAWS OF 1892, CHAPTER 340.

*Assembly Bill No. 21, introduced by Mr. Webster,
of New York.*

This scandalous measure is one of several similar acts passed by the legislature during the past session. These acts bestow upon private corporations valuable public franchises which should be made to yield large annual returns to the City of New York.

The bill gives a corporation consisting of a consolidation of the Harlem Bridge, Morrisania, and Fordham Railroad Company and any other incorporated street railway companies acquired by lease or purchase, the practical monopoly of the use of streets in the Annexed District (that portion of the city lying north of the Harlem River) for street surface railways. The corporation formed is to be known as the “Union Railroad Company.” The consideration expressed in this conveyance by legislative enactment is one per cent. of the gross earnings after they shall average \$1,700 per day during six months, and an additional one per cent. of the gross earnings for each additional \$1,700 so earned.

The motive power may be any except steam. No time is fixed in which any parts of any proposed roads are to be built, or commenced, nor is the territory specified which is first to receive the advantages of the corporation’s activity.

The General Railway Law (chapter 565, laws of 1890) prescribes the sale of railway franchises at public auction to the corporation which will agree to pay annually to the city the largest percentage of gross receipts ; and further that in any event the company securing the franchise shall pay three per cent. of its gross receipts for the first five years, and five per cent. thereafter. The "Huckleberry Bill" frees its beneficiaries from the operation of these general provisions.

In its first form, the bill sought to relieve the corporation from those further provisions of the general railway law which had been inserted after the Broadway Railroad scandals of 1884. For example, the fare was not limited to five cents ; there was no requirement that the corporation should keep the streets between its tracks in repair ; the amount of capital stock was unlimited ; and there was no provision whatever for payment to the city of a portion of the receipts in exchange for the franchise.

Public clamor and an intimation by the Governor in his special message, led the legislature to so amend the act as to limit the rate of fare to five cents, to require the company to keep the streets in repair between tracks, to limit the amount of capital stock to \$2,000,000, and to provide for the ridiculously inadequate payment above specified.

The bill was pushed by the political lobby, which is described elsewhere in this pamphlet as a recent development of our state politics. Edward Murphy, Jr., chairman of the Democratic State Committee, exerted his political influence strenuously in its behalf. He was said to be financially interested in the measure, as were several other influential politicians not residents of New York City. The Lieutenant Governor, William F. Sheehan, the presiding officer of the senate, left his chair of office to lobby actively in behalf of the bill when it was pending in the assembly. The clerk

of the assembly, Charles R. De Freest, who was active in the political lobby in 1891, also worked for the bill.

Outside of the legislature, the bill was favored by some owners of real estate in the suburbs, to whom the virtual theft of public franchises seemed of minor importance as compared with the expected enhancement in the value of their property. The bill was fought by the press of the city, by many citizens of the Annexed District, and others.

The chief argument advanced in favor of it was that it would be many years before the railroad would be able to pay anything for the franchise. The obvious answer to which is that in that case it should be many years before a corporation should receive the franchise. If the franchise was sought as valuable in the future, those in charge of the city's interests should have provided for payment in the future.

In the senate, Mr. Walker of Steuben County, a democrat, took a brave stand in opposition to the bill, which made it necessary for its friends to seek aid from republican senators. They secured Messrs. Coggshall of Oneida County, Emerson of Clinton, Essex, and Warren Counties, and Richardson of Orange and Sullivan Counties.

Upon the introduction of the bill in the assembly upon the 12th of January, it was referred to the committee on railroads, Mr. Hitt of Albany, chairman. Upon the 28th of January it was reported favorably and placed on the order of second reading. The following day the bill was reached upon this order, but upon motion of Mr. Webster was laid aside.

Upon the 9th of February, Mr. Webster called the bill from the table, but upon motion of Mr. Wells of the Annexed District, the bill was sent back to the committee on railroads for a hearing.

Upon the 18th of February, the bill was again reported by the committee, was read the second time, and ordered to a third reading.

Upon the 24th of February the bill came up on its third reading, and was finally passed under a call of the house, which was had upon motion of Mr. Sulzer of New York. 116 members were present, and the bill was passed by a vote of 82 to 32.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Byrne, Dinkelspiel, Drypolcher, Duffy, Farquhar, Foley, Hahlo, Martin, McManus, Mullaney, O'Dair, Roche, Sohmer, Southworth, Stein, Sullivan, Sulzer, Walker, Webster, and Wissig.—20.

NOES.—Messrs. Conkling, Connelly, and Hoag.—3.

Mr. Wells was absent.

The bill was then sent to the senate for concurrence, and was referred to the railroad committee. Almost immediately a deadlock arose in the committee by reason of the refusal of Senator McClelland of Westchester County to attend the meetings of the committee. Without him the committee was tied upon the bill, Messrs. Edwards, Mullin, and Walker voting against reporting the bill, and Messrs. Hagan, Plunkitt, and McCarthy voting in favor of reporting it.

Meanwhile strong opposition to the bill had been developed. Various meetings of the committee were held, at which this opposition was shown. Upon the 7th of March the Governor sent a communication to the legislature relating to "bills pending in the legislature affecting public "interests in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and which "are said to bestow upon certain corporations unusual privileges "and valuable franchises without any commensurate compensa- "tion to those municipalities." In that message the Governor bespoke "for the whole subject the earnest study and deliber- "ation which its present and future importance demands." This message was deemed to be a condemnation of the bill as it stood.

Upon the following day Senator O'Connor of Broome County, succeeded in passing a resolution which had been objected to upon a former date by Senator Cantor of New York (then in the chair), which requested the Mayor, the Comptroller of New York, and the Commissioner of Street Improvements in the Annexed District to communicate to the legislature their views upon the "Huckleberry Bill." The resolution declared in part that :

"Whereas, the daily newspapers of the City of New York, almost without exception, have repeatedly charged that Assembly bill No. 21, commonly called the "Huckleberry Railroad Bill," now before the Senate for consideration, is a measure without precedent, unjust and oppressive to the citizens of the Annexed District, and that it proposes to confer as a gratuity upon individuals in whose interest said bill is sought to be passed, privileges and franchises of great value in contravention of existing laws," these officials mentioned should be requested to give their views upon the bill.

In answer to this resolution, Mayor Grant and Commissioner Heintz replied that if the bill released the proposed corporation from existing provisions of law, it would be detrimental to the interests of the City of New York. Comptroller Myers, in replying, criticized the bill in detail, and declared in emphatic terms that in his opinion the bill was "detrimental to the rights and interests of the City of New York."

The deadlock in the senate committee on railroads continued meanwhile, and was not broken until the 24th of March. Senator McClelland then voted in favor of reporting the bill with the amendment providing that the company should pay to the city one per cent. of its gross receipts when the earnings should amount to \$1,700 a day, and an additional one per cent. of its gross earnings for each additional \$1,700 so earned.

The bill was reported to the senate upon the 25th of March, and came up for final passage upon the 5th of April. At this time it was further amended by limiting the fare to five cents for a continuous ride, and by limiting the capital stock to \$2,000,000. The bill was, however, fundamentally bad, and remained so notwithstanding these amendments. Nevertheless, and in spite of continued opposition to the bill, it was passed by a vote of 19 to 13.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Ahearn, Brown, Cantor, Hagan, McMahon, Plunkitt, and Roesch.—7.

NOES.—None.

The passage of the bill at this time was made possible by the votes of three republican senators, Messrs. Coggesshall, Emerson, and Richardson, who, in opposition to their party, voted in the affirmative.

The bill was then sent to the assembly for concurrence. When it was received in the house, Mr. Webster moved to concur in the amendments at once. Mr. Conkling objected. This made a reference to a committee necessary. Accordingly the bill was again referred to the committee on railroads, which reported in favor of concurring in the senate amendments upon the following day, April 7th. The amendments were at once concurred in, and the bill was finally passed by a vote of 78 to 40.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Byrne, Dinkelpiel, Drypolcher, Duffy, Farquhar, Foley, Martin, McManus, Mullaney, O'Dair, Roche, Sohmer, Southworth, Stein, Sullivan, Sulzer, Walker, Webster, Wells, and Wissig.—20.

NOES.—Messrs. Conkling, Connelly, and Hoag.—3.

NOT VOTING.—Mr. Hahlo.—1.

The bill then went to the Governor in the usual manner, and by his signature became a law upon the 20th of April.

THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS' ACT.

LAWS OF 1892, CHAPTER 400.

Assembly bill No. 1296, introduced by Mr. Farquhar of New York.

This act provides for reducing from four to three the number of inspectors of election in each election district in New York City; two of the inspectors to belong to that party which cast the greatest number of votes in that city at the last preceding election, and the third to belong to that party which cast the next greatest number of votes, and the three to be appointed by the Board of Police. This provision results in allotting two inspectors to Tammany Hall, and one to the republican party. Under the former system the inspectors were four in number, divided equally between the democrats and the republicans. The bill was introduced for the purpose of giving to Tammany Hall control of the election machinery in New York City.

The old system had worked well. The non-partisan character of the boards of inspectors had proved a fairly efficient guarantee that votes cast would be counted fairly. Tammany urged the passage of the bill on two grounds; first, that a saving of \$40,000 yearly would be effected by the reduction in the number of inspectors; secondly, that the law regulating the number of inspectors in each election district should be made uniform throughout the State.

The anxiety of Tammany Hall to save the city money is likely to be regarded with considerable distrust. In answer to the second reason, Mr. Erwin, the leader of the republican minority in the senate, made the pertinent objection that while in the country districts the three inspectors were elected by the people, in New York they were to be appointed

by the Board of Police, a partisan Tammany body. It would be easy for the Board of Police to appoint a republican whose loyalty to his party would be none too strong, and who, if not actually conniving at the frauds of his democratic colleagues, would not be likely to offer any serious resistance to their schemes.

Tammany was not sincere in its contention that the law should be made uniform throughout the state. Had it been so, it would have had the number of inspectors in the country districts increased from three to four. Then each of the two great parties would have had an equal number of inspectors in each county. This, however, was not what Tammany desired. It wanted control of the election machinery in New York City, and used the argument that the law ought to be the same in all parts of the state, in order to conceal the real purpose of the bill.

Upon the introduction of the bill, the most serious opposition to it was aroused on all sides. Prominent democrats, men whose loyalty to their party had never been doubted, appeared before the committee which had the bill in charge, and protested most earnestly against it. Many of the democratic politicians seemed inclined to believe that the bill was a mistake in policy, and it required the strongest pressure from headquarters to swing some of the recalcitrant members into line. A member of the City Reform Club who appeared before the senate committee to protest against the bill, stated that in his opinion an equal reduction in the expense of elections would be accomplished by giving one inspector to the party which had cast the highest number of votes, and two inspectors to the party which had cast the next highest number. To this, Senator Brown of New York replied, that in that case, with the election machinery thus placed under its control, the minority party would at each election become

the majority party. This was a distinct admission that the purpose of the bill was to perpetuate Tammany Hall in power.

Upon the 13th of April the bill was passed in the assembly by a vote of 65 to 60, the speaker casting the necessary sixty-fifth vote.

New York city members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Byrnes, Connelly, Dinkelspiel, Drypolcher, Duffy, Farquhar, Foley, Hahlo, Martin, Mullaney, O'Dair, Roche, Sohmer, Southworth, Stein, Sullivan, Sulzer, Walker, Webster, and Wissig.—20.

NOES.—Messrs. Conkling, Hoag, McManus and Wells.

—4.

The bill was then sent to the senate for concurrence, and referred to the committee on cities (Mr. Brown, of New York, chairman).

On April 19th the bill was made a special order in the senate. Senator Erwin had finished a speech in opposition to the bill, and was on the point of offering an amendment, when, apparently by pre-arrangement between Lieutenant-Governor Sheehan and the democratic majority, the clerk began to call the roll. The protests of the republican minority were disregarded. The bill received 17 votes, the number necessary to pass it. 13 votes, all cast by republicans were recorded against it. Every senator from New York City voted for the bill, as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Ahearn, Brown, Cantor, Hagan, McMahon, Plunkitt, and Roesch.—7.

After the passage of the bill, numerous protests were forwarded to the Governor, urging him not to affix his signature to the measure. Then, if ever, was an opportunity afforded the Governor of manifesting his independence by vetoing a measure which a large section of his own party considered impolitic, and to which the best elements of the community

were strongly opposed. But if the Governor had ever entertained any notion of shaking off the Hill-Tammany yoke, his resolution weakened, for on April 30th he affixed his signature, filing a memorandum at the same time, giving his reasons for signing the bill. The memorandum, which was in fact a defense of the bill, was of some length, and bears the marks of Hill inspiration. In it the specious and shallow arguments which had failed to stand the test of debate in the legislature were made to do service again. The whole defense was lacking in force, and the fact was made patent that the Governor had signed the bill, not for the reasons alleged, but because Tammany Hall wanted it.

THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL.

Assembly bill No. 231, introduced by Mr. Conkling of New York.

Did not become law.

This bill is intended to supplement the law known as the "corrupt practices act," which seeks to prevent the improper expenditure of money by candidates for public office. The introduction of the bill was brought about in great part by the facts shown in the certificates of expenses filed with the County Clerk of New York County after the last election. These sworn statements demonstrate the well-known fact that candidates for judicial offices in this city contribute in many cases thousands of dollars to the political organizations which nominate them. The evils of this system are apparent, and result practically in the sale of public office by the dominant party to the candidate paying the largest assessment,— fitness for office being a secondary consideration. In the last campaign the expenditures of

the majority party. This was a distinct purpose of the bill was to perpetuate Tammany. Upon the 13th of April the bill was passed by a vote of 65 to 60, the speaker casting the fifth vote.

New York city members voted as follows:
 AVES.—Messrs. Byrnes, Connelly, polcher, Duffy, Farquhar, Foley, Hahlo, O'Dair, Roche, Sohmer, Southworth, Stel Walker, Webster, and Wissig.—20.
 NOES.—Messrs. Conkling, Hoag, M.

—4. The bill was then sent to the senate referred to the committee on cities (New York, chairman).

On April 19th the bill was made a senator. Senator Erwin had finished a to the bill, and was on the point of off when, apparently by pre-arrangement Governor Sheehan and the democrats began to call the roll. The protest minority were disregarded. The bill number necessary to pass it. 13 votes were recorded against it. Every senator voted for the bill, as follows:—

AVES.—Messrs. Ahearn, Br—, Mahon, Plunkitt, and Roesch.—7

After the passage of the bill forwarded to the Governor, urging him to the measure. Then, if ever, will the Governor of manifesting his views which a large section of the public, and to which these best

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voted as follows:—
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Assembly bill No. ——
THE JUDICIAL
Assembly bill No. ——
SPEEDWAY ACT.
CHAPTER 142.
by Mr. Plunkitt of New York.

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SPEEDWAY REPEAL
ACT.
CHAPTER 370.
ed by Mr. Plunkitt of New York.

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Roger A. Pryor, re-nominated for Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, were ten thousand five hundred dollars; of George L. Ingraham, nominated for Judge of the Supreme Court, seven thousand dollars; of Simon M. Ehrlich, re-nominated for Judge of the City Court, six thousand four hundred dollars. The greater part of these sums was paid directly to representatives of political organizations.

The Conkling bill was introduced to do away with such contributions. It provided that "it shall be unlawful for any candidate or person seeking to become a candidate for judicial office in this state, or for any member of his family, either for procuring or promoting his nomination or election or appointment to such office, to pay, lend or contribute, or promise to pay, lend or contribute, directly or indirectly, or procure or solicit any other person to pay, lend or contribute any sum of money or any valuable thing as contribution or assessment or otherwise, to any political or other organization, association, club, committee or person, either before or after the nomination or election or appointment of said candidate for such office." A violation of this provision is made punishable by forfeiture of the office; by imprisonment for not less than three months nor more than one year, or by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or both such fine and such imprisonment, and disqualification from holding any other judicial office within the state.

Upon the introduction of the bill in the assembly it was referred to the committee on general laws (Mr. Guenther of Erie County, chairman). The bill lay in that committee until March 4th, and was then reported adversely to the assembly. Mr. Conkling at once moved to disagree with such report, in order to bring the bill before the full house for consideration. At the end of the roll-call the vote stood a tie,—51 to

51. The Speaker, however, voted "no" before the vote was announced, and Mr. Conkling's motion was thus lost.

New York City members voted as follows:—

NOES.—Messrs. Byrne, Dinkelspiel, Foley, Roche, Southworth, Stein, Sullivan, Sulzer, Walker, and Wissig.—10.

AYES.—Messrs. Conkling, Hahlo, O'Dair, and Webster.

—4.

NOT VOTING.—Messrs. Connelly, Drypolcher, Duffy, Farquhar, Hoag, McManus, Martin, Mullaney, Sohmer, and Wells.—10.

THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY ACT.

LAWS OF 1892, CHAPTER 142.

Senate bill No. 444, introduced by Mr. Plunkitt of New York.

THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL ACT.

LAWS OF 1892, CHAPTER 370.

Senate Bill No. 791, introduced by Mr. Plunkitt of New York.

The history of these two measures is an instructive lesson. It shows that when the people are united and determined, they can compel the politicians to bow to the popular will.

The Speedway Act, so called, provided for the building of a roadway 70 feet wide along the west side of Central Park, parallel to Eighth Avenue, under the supervision of the Park Commissioners, and for an issue from time to time of bonds of the city bearing $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, to pay for the construction of the roadway. No limit to the amount of bonds was fixed in the bill, and the amount that would have been required has never been determined. Before the passage of the bill by the legislature, the amount mentioned by its sponsors was the ridiculously small one of \$300,000. After the passage of the bill the estimated amount reached in

some cases \$2,000,000. The bill provided that the beginning of the speedway should be at the lower, or 59th Street, entrance of the Park, but there was no provision that it should end before reaching the upper end of the Park at 110th Street, and there is no reason to believe that its promoters intended that it should.

The bill contemplated the building of a speeding driveway for fast driving through one of the most beautiful portions of Central Park, at enormous public expense, for the benefit of a comparatively few owners of fast horses. It exhibits the willingness of the legislature, the Governor, and the authorities of this city to disregard the rights of the people.

The history of the passage of the bill is most disgraceful. It was introduced in the senate by Mr. Plunkitt of New York upon the 24th of February, and referred to the committee on cities (Mr. Brown of New York, chairman). Mr. Plunkitt immediately began to press it. Upon the following day it was reported favorably by the committee, and referred to the committee of the whole. Four days later, upon motion of Mr. Plunkitt, the bill was placed upon the order of third reading; and upon the 1st of March it was quietly passed by a vote of 22 to 0.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Ahearn, Cantor, Hagan, McMahon, Plunkitt, and Roesch.—6.

NOES.—None.

NOT VOTING.—Mr. Brown.

The bill was then sent to the assembly for concurrence, and referred to the committee on cities (Mr. Webster of New York, chairman). It was favorably reported, and placed on the order of second reading. It was made a special order on third reading for the 17th of March, at which time it was passed by a vote of 68 to 25.

New York City members voted as follows:—

Ayes.—Messrs. Dinkelpiel, Drypolcher, Duffy, Farquhar, Hahlo, Martin, Mullaney, Roche, Southworth, Sullivan, Sulzer, Walker, Webster, and Wissig.—14.

Nos.—Messrs. Conkling, O'Dair, Sohmer, and Wells.

—4.

Not Voting.—Messrs. Byrne, Connelly, Foley, Hoag, McManus, and Stein.—6.

The bill was then sent to the senate for the usual signatures, and was taken to the Governor by Senator Plunkitt himself. It was immediately signed by the Governor, and became law.

Up to this time the bill had attracted little attention, as it had been supposed that it could not pass the legislature and receive the approval of the Governor. The passage of the bill and the action of the Governor were, therefore, received with popular astonishment and indignation; but before the people of the city could take any action, the Park Commissioners hastened to commit the city to the speedway. Upon the morning after the bill became law, and without any official notification of the fact that it had become law, they held a hasty special meeting, passed resolutions that the speedway should be built, directed their chief engineer to examine the proposed route, and requested the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to appropriate \$10,000, under the provisions of the act, for the cost of preliminary surveys. In order to defend their unseemly haste, and without the knowledge of the corporation counsel, they secured from an assistant of the corporation counsel an opinion that the act was not merely permissive, but required the Commissioners to proceed with the building of the road. Part of the road was immediately staked out at the beginning of the proposed driveway.

The course of the Commissioners increased the popular indignation, and emphasized the necessity of speedy action. The initiative had already been taken by the City Reform Club, and its committee upon protest and repeal received cordial support.

Signatures of representative citizens were obtained to a call for a mass meeting to protest against the methods which had been used to progress the speedway scheme. A temporary committee of citizens was appointed, which opened headquarters at 63 Wall Street. The newspapers of the city, almost without exception, took up the fight, and gave up their columns to the work. Blank calls for a mass meeting, and a protest against the passage of the law, and a demand for its repeal, appeared simultaneously in nearly all the newspapers, and signatures poured into the headquarters of the committee.

The opposition had rapidly become so great that the Mayor wrote to the Park Commissioners, and advised them to give a hearing upon the subject. The Board rescinded its hasty action, and granted a hearing for the 23rd of March. At this hearing the citizens appeared in such force, and the indignation was shown to be so earnest, that at the next meeting of the board, upon the 30th of March, a resolution was adopted asking the legislature to repeal the Speedway Act. A repeal bill had been introduced by Senator Plunkitt upon the 28th of March, eleven days after the original bill became law.

Tammany Hall had now become aware of the great danger to it in the popular feeling aroused by the speedway scheme, and made strenuous efforts in behalf of the repeal. On the other hand, many of the republican assemblymen refused to make active efforts in behalf of the repeal, taking the ground that they would not "help Tammany out of a hole." They

were ready to sacrifice the city to the political advantage to be secured by putting the democrats in the wrong.

The 'citizens' committee appointed at the mass meeting went to Albany upon the 31st of March, to attend public meetings of the senate and assembly committees on cities, and to demand the passage of the repeal bill. The members of the senate committee pledged themselves to vote and work for its passage. Mr. Plunkitt explained elaborately that he thought he was right in advocating the original bill, but would have to bow to popular opinion, and would work for the repeal. At the meeting of the assembly committee, which had under consideration a repeal bill introduced by Assemblyman Conkling, many citizens advocated the repeal. Mr. Plunkitt, who had followed the delegation from the senate to the assembly committee, lost his temper, and insulted the labor delegation grossly, as did also Assemblymen Dinkelspiel of New York, Byrnes of Brooklyn, and Rice of Ulster. The assembly committee cut short the argument of the representatives of organized labor, and prevented the reading of numerous protests against the original speedway law, which were to have been presented. In spite of the earnest protest of several delegates, the hearing was brought to a close before the advocates of the repeal had an opportunity to show their strength.

Upon the 28th of March, when the repeal bill was introduced in the senate, Mr. Plunkitt asked unanimous consent to have it passed at once, but Mr. McCarren of Brooklyn objected, as he did to several other motions that would have advanced the bill. This objection made reference to a committee necessary. The bill was accordingly referred to the committee on cities, and by it reported favorably to the senate on the 1st of April. Mr. Cantor of New York asked that the bill should have its third reading and

final passage at once, but Mr. Hagan of New York objected. The bill was then considered in the committee of the whole without further objection. It was then referred to the committee on engrossed bills, by which committee it was immediately reported, and, upon motion of Mr. Plunkitt, was placed upon final passage, and passed without further objection by a vote of 19 to 0.

New York city members voted as follows :—

AVES.—Messrs. Ahearn, Cantor, Plunkitt, and Roesch.

—4.

NOES.—None.

NOT VOTING.—Messrs. Brown, Hagan, and McMahon.—3.

The bill was then sent to the assembly for concurrence, and referred to the committee on cities. Other hearings in addition to the one of the 31st of March were had upon the bill, and both sides presented arguments. The committee, upon one pretext and another, declined to report the bill to the assembly, however; and it became evident that a majority of the committee desired to kill the bill in this way. The lobby against the repeal had become so bold as to boast that the bill would never pass, and, indeed, would never be reported to the assembly at all. To bring the bill before the house, therefore, it was necessary to discharge the committee from further consideration of it. This was done upon motion of Mr. Webster upon the evening of the 12th of April. The motion was carried by a vote of 50 to 32.

This vote advanced the bill to a second reading, which is the consideration of a bill at length before the full house; but by the rules of the house the bill was placed at the bottom of the calendar, where, because of the mass of unfinished business before the assembly at this late day, it could not be reached before adjournment. It thus seemed to be practically dead. The only chance to advance the bill so as to reach it

upon third reading before final adjournment, it being impossible to obtain unanimous consent, was to commit it to the care of the committee on rules, and to ask the committee to make it a special order at or near the top of the calendar. This action the committee could take under an amendment to the rules made during the past session. The bill was placed in the hands of this committee, therefore, upon request of Mr. Webster, and upon the 14th of April, a motion was made at the afternoon session of the committee to make the bill a special order at once. The motion was lost by a tie vote, as were various other motions to make the bill a special order at other times. The speaker, and Messrs. Sulzer of New York, and Husted of Westchester voted in the affirmative, and Messrs. Bush of Ulster, Hitt of Albany, and Gallagher of Erie, in the negative. When this action of the committee became known, the lobby against the bill was jubilant, while the friends of the bill were correspondingly discouraged. The Tammany delegation, which feared the political consequences of a defeat of the bill, at once brought pressure to bear upon the committee on rules; and during the evening session of the assembly, gathering the members of the committee in a corner near the speaker's desk, finally prevailed upon them to report the bill at once. Messrs. Thomas F. Gilroy, commissioner of public works in New York City, and William H. Clark, corporation counsel, were with the committee during this proceeding, and upon the floor of the assembly chamber subsequently. The speaker handed down the bill as a special order upon third reading, and its final passage was announced by the clerk. Then began perhaps one of the most extraordinary scenes ever witnessed in the assembly chamber. As the roll-call proceeded, it seemed that the repeal was defeated. At its end but 51 votes of the necessary 65 were recorded in favor of

the repeal. The roll was called for absentees again and again, and various parliamentary devices were brought into play to delay the announcement of the vote until enough absentees could be brought in to pass the bill. Members rushed about the floor soliciting votes upon one side or the other, and the utmost confusion prevailed. Members from country districts changed their votes, and then changed them back again. It was almost impossible to follow the changes, so rapid were they. After this state of affairs had prevailed for some time, enough votes were secured to pass the bill, and the vote was announced as 68 in the affirmative and 43 in the negative.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Byrne, Conkling, Connelly, Dinkelpiel, Drypolcher, Duffy, Farquhar, Foley, Hahlo, Hoag, Martin, McManus, Mullaney, O'Dair, Roche, Sohmer, Stein, Sulzer, Sullivan, Walker, Webster, and Wissig.—22.

NOES.—None.

NOT VOTING.—Mr. Southworth.

EXCUSED FROM VOTING.—Mr. Wells.

The course taken by Mr. Wells was most peculiar. He had voted against the original Speedway Bill. He said that this vote sufficiently defined his position, and upon this ground he asked to be excused. Mr. Wells must have seen the precise danger in which the bill stood at this time, as his name was nearly at the end of the roll, and yet he persisted in asking to be excused. It was only necessary for the lobby to prevent 65 votes from being cast for the repeal bill, and a refusal to vote was equivalent to a vote against the repeal of the speedway law. During the speedway fight, Mr. Wells had been in constant communication with Mr. De La Vergne, the chief lobbyist against the repeal of the law; and as he is a manufacturer employing many men in Mr. Wells' district, this fact may account for the position which Mr. Wells took.

The bill then went to the Governor, and by his signature upon the 25th of April became law.

After the passage of the bill by the assembly, Mr. Gilroy, commissioner of public works of New York City, who had been active in securing the repeal, remarked to an assemblyman that the passage of the repeal bill "saved the Tammany organization 20,000 votes at the election this fall."

EXCISE BILLS OF 1892.

In its Annual Record of last year the City Reform Club explained the intimate connection between the liquor trade and the politics of the State of New York. The danger threatened by the bold attempts of the liquor-dealers to mould legislation to their liking, in defiance of public opinion and of fundamental principles of our laws, was pointed out. The history of the session of 1891 made it clear that these attempts would be renewed this year. The very nature of the trade organization made it certain that these attempts would not cease until they succeeded, or until public opinion made it useless to continue them.

The liquor-dealing class organizes for the purpose of advancing the welfare of its members. It enters politics for the purpose of promoting a trade interest. It has always professed that it had no political views, except such as were dictated by trade advantage. It is more completely organized and better equipped than any political party in the state, because its members have, individually, more to gain by such organization than members of any political party have. The headquarters and the most important branch of this organization are in New York City, where the democratic party is at present dominant.

The eight thousand liquor-dealers in New York City receive their licenses from the board of excise, which is

appointed by the mayor, and which is an arm of the party in power. They ply their trade under the supervision of the police department, and are subject to indictment through the district attorney. Both the police department and the district attorney's office are branches of the city government, and are controlled by the dominant party. Thus the party in power in the City of New York has a stronger hold upon the liquor-dealers than upon any other class, because it controls the daily conduct of that trade.

The many voluminous excise laws of this state were in a chaotic condition, rendering revision and codification exceedingly desirable. This fact has served as an excuse for the introduction by the liquor-dealers of bills embodying their wishes. In the legislature of 1891 three liquor bills were introduced. Senator Stadler's Dance House bill passed the senate, and failed in the assembly. The Schaff bill, a schedule of the liquor-dealers' demands, aroused general opposition, and was withdrawn at the last moment. The substitute Schaff bill, an even more dangerous measure, drafted by an abler hand, passed the assembly by a strict party vote before the public could discover what it contained, but failed to become law. "The Police Spy Bill" was incorporated in the Schaff bills, and failed with them.

The liquor-dealers were deeply disappointed by the outcome of the session. They had, as they constantly asserted, raised \$300,000 for legislative expenses, and had been instrumental in securing democratic ascendancy in the assembly.

In the spring of '91 many of the liquor-dealers began to doubt the sincerity of the democratic leaders; and after the close of the session this distrust developed so far as to cause a split in the ranks of the liquor-dealers. The *Wine and Spirit Gazette*, which had been the official organ of the

Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, had been threatening revolt ; and in the campaign of 1891, it cut loose from the democratic party, and backed the republican ticket. It ceased to be the official organ of the Wholesale Association, which still clung to the democratic party.

During the past two years we have had an opportunity to learn what the liquor-dealers demand. The most important of their desires are : 1. To sell liquor on Sunday. This is their chief demand. It is more important in their eyes than all the other demands, for the reason that the breach of the Sunday closing law gives to the police the best opportunity to levy blackmail upon the liquor-dealers. 2. To sell liquor on election day. 3. To abolish the civil damage act, which makes the person selling liquor, and the owner or the lessor of the premises where it is sold, legally liable for damage caused through the intoxication of the person to whom the liquor was sold. The reason assigned for this demand is that the act is unjust in principle in that it makes an owner of premises where liquor is sold responsible for the remote consequences of the sale. The real reason is that the act makes landlords unwilling to rent to liquor-dealers, and increases the rental of saloons. 4. The passage of a law which shall make it impossible to prove the illegal selling of liquor. 5. Greater security in the tenure of licenses, and the right to buy, to sell, and to bequeath them. 6. Several new classes of licenses. All night licenses, on the ground that such licenses are necessary for the balls of respectable German societies, and that large classes of the population, such as printers and newspaper men, do not go to bed at night, and ought to be supplied with liquor.

All these demands of the liquor-dealers were embodied in the Schaff Excise Bills of 1891, and re-appeared this year in the Foley Excise Bill, which became law.

THE FOLEY EXCISE ACT.

Assembly bill Nos. 461, 1087, 1432 and 1521, introduced by Mr. Foley of New York, and Senate bill No. 228, introduced by Mr. Endres of Buffalo.

LAWS OF 1892, CHAPTER 401.

The Foley bill was acknowledged to be a codification of the desires of the liquor-dealers. It was drawn by Professor Charles A. Collin of Cornell University, who was credited with the authorship of the iniquitous Schaff Substitute Bill of 1891. The two bills are much alike.

The Foley bill consisted of forty-two sections, covering twenty-five printed pages, and in general plan and scope was much like the Schaff excise bills of 1891. It was designed to make it as difficult as possible to punish the liquor-dealer civilly or criminally for violating the law. It went as far in this direction as the liquor-dealers thought it safe to go. It proposed to sweep away nearly all the wholesome restrictions that the law had placed upon the liquor traffic in this State. A full analysis of the bill will not be attempted. It became law with certain modifications under the title of "An Act to "revise and consolidate the laws relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors." The chief provisions of the Act will be explained:—

Section 18 prohibits the granting of "any licenses to any "person or persons unless each such person is over twenty- "one years of age," and is a citizen and a resident of this State. The assumption that the privilege of keeping a liquor saloon should be reserved for citizens is perhaps merely ludicrous; but it must be observed that the effect of this provision would be to make it more probable that every liquor-dealer would be interested in politics, and would be amenable to party discipline.

Sub-division 6 of section 19 provides that "an additional

" license may be granted upon application when it shall appear that public necessity requires that such licensed premises remain open between the hours of one and five o'clock in the morning, and for which the fee shall not be less than thirty dollars nor more than one hundred and fifty dollars." This seeks to incorporate in our law the theory that public necessity requires the liquor-saloon. The judges of "public necessity" in any case would be the local excise commissioners, and, under this provision, if they were so disposed, they might grant all-night licenses to all the liquor-saloons within their jurisdiction.

But if the liquor-dealers want to enlarge the power of commissioners of excise to grant licenses, they want also to limit the power to refuse and to revoke licenses. Accordingly, section 24 gives to any applicant to whom the commissioners have refused a license, the right to procure from the courts a writ of *certiorari*. The courts can then inquire into the action of the commissioners, and make an order requiring them to issue a license, if the courts determine that the refusal was "without good and valid reasons." Section 29 gives the same right to any licensee whom the commissioners find guilty of violating the law, or whose license they have revoked. These provisions will be invoked to protect law-breakers, and to deprive the commissioners of all discretion in the exercise of the most important functions that they have to perform for the community. It is true that the ostensible purpose of these sections is to prevent wanton and arbitrary exercise of power by the commissioners. But no provision is made in the act for a review of any decision of the commissioners favorable to the liquor-dealer. Citizens who complain of the improper granting of a license or of the improper refusal to revoke a license, have no express remedy under this act. When the matter comes before the

courts, the lawyers of the liquor-dealers will contend that the silence of the act as to the review of decisions favorable to the dealers, takes away by implication any right that the citizen may have had before the passage of this act to secure the review of such decisions. Should this contention prevail, a board of excise commissioners seeking to control the liquor trade would be harassed at every step by *certiorari* proceedings, while a board friendly to the dealers could do serious injury to the community without being brought to account.

Under the old law the excise commissioners in any city or town in the State could institute at any time an investigation as to the fitness of any licensee to continue in the enjoyment of his license. If complaint was made by any citizen, they were obliged to institute such an inquiry. If the result of the inquiry was that the commissioners became satisfied that the licensee had violated any of the provisions of the excise laws, they were required to revoke his license. The old law also provided that any conviction of a licensed liquor dealer in a criminal court for a violation of the excise laws should, *ipso facto*, and without any action on the part of the excise board, forfeit the license of the offender. Sections 27 and 28 of the Foley act render it much more difficult to secure the revocation of the license of a saloon-keeper who has violated the law. Under these sections the excise commissioners are permitted, but not required, to revoke the license of a liquor dealer who (1) has obtained his license by false representations, or (2) has failed to pay a judgment recovered against him for a penalty under the act, or (3) has permitted any girl or woman not a member of his family to sell liquor upon his premises, or (4) having a hotel license, shall not have upon his premises the necessary accommodation for guests, or (5) having a liquor or beer license in a city of over five hundred thousand inhabitants shall

engage in the grocery business upon the licensed premises, or (6) shall have been convicted during the term of the license, of any violation of the act other than those mentioned above, and other than those for which a conviction in a criminal action would, *ipso facto*, revoke the license, and shall again be so convicted or found guilty of any violation of any provision of the act. A careful examination of these sections, with other parts of the act, shows that their effect is to modify the old law in the following particulars:—

(1) By repealing such of the provisions as compelled the excise commissioners to investigate complaints made by citizens against liquor-dealers.

(2) By depriving the excise commissioners of all power to revoke the license of a liquor-dealer, for a single violation of the law, however flagrant, except in the few cases above mentioned. Thus a licensed liquor-dealer might openly and flagrantly sell liquor upon Sunday, or upon election day, and in proximity to a polling-place, or at unlawful hours, or to a child, and yet the excise commissioners would be without authority to revoke his license unless he had been convicted by a criminal court of such violation during the term of the license (the term of every license being one year), and had been again convicted or found guilty of any violation of any provision of the act.

(3) By repealing the provisions of the old law, which provided that the conviction of a licensed liquor-dealer by a criminal court of any violation of the excise laws shall, *ipso facto*, terminate his license, and by substituting for this a provision that no such conviction shall operate to revoke a license, except in cases of selling adulterated liquor, of violating the "druggist" and "storekeeper" sections, and of selling "strong and spirituous liquors or wines" under a beer license, and in cases where the licensee shall have been

convicted of a felony during the term of his license. The offenses specifically mentioned are injurious to "the trade," and, accordingly, the bill provides that they shall be dealt with more sternly than offenses against the community.

It is evident that the effect of sections 27, 28 and 29 will be to afford the liquor-dealers much more protection in violating the law than they enjoyed under the former law. These sections of the bill were drawn, for the purpose of lessening the danger to lawbreakers, by limiting the power of the excise commissioners to punish violations of the law. The sections are monstrosities of legislation. They deprive of much of their power to revoke licenses, boards which have full and exclusive power to grant licenses. They protect from the loss of his license, which is the natural and only effective penalty, a liquor-dealer who has been convicted of violating the law under which he holds his license. Thus the law declares certain acts to be crimes, and at the same time provides expressly that the criminals shall not suffer the natural penalty.

Section 38 provides that officers authorized to make arrests on criminal process may enter "licensed premises while the "same are permitted by the license to be kept open for carrying on the licensed business therein." Before the passage of the act there was no provision of law which prevented an officer, without using force, from entering saloons at all times, even when the saloons were required by law to be kept closed. It may be urged that this provision of the Foley Act is simply declaratory of the law as it existed heretofore; it is, however, declaratory of only a part of the former law; and as a result of the enactment, police justices have held that police officers have no right to enter saloons during the hours when they should be closed, upon the ground that such entrance is prohibited by implication. Under the

construction placed upon this section, police officers are not authorized to enter a saloon for any purpose whatever during the hours when the saloon ought to be closed, whether to detect a violation of the excise law, or to arrest a person committing any crime. The practical effect of this construction is to prevent officers from detecting violations of the excise law, and thus to allow saloon-keepers to violate the law without fear of detection. This provision is an entering wedge which may allow an amendment to be passed, without attracting public attention, which will distinctly prohibit police officers from exercising powers which they now have to detect and arrest for crime. This section provides in terms for the protection of persons engaged in committing crime.

Sub-division 3 of section 32 amends the old law which provided that saloons must be kept closed during election day, by providing that saloons need only be kept closed while the polls are open.

By section 40, the civil damage act was amended and practically nullified by a provision to the effect that in order to maintain an action for damages under that act, it must be proved that a written notice forbidding the sale of liquor to the person whose intoxication caused the injury, had been served upon the person who sold the liquor previous to such sale. It also repealed the old law in so far as it allowed a right of action in such cases against the owner or lessor of the premises where the sale took place.

The act presents many other objectionable features, such as that reducing the limit of age of minors to whom it is lawful to sell liquor.

The Foley bill was introduced in the assembly upon the 1st of February, and referred to the committee on excise (Mr. Foley of New York, chairman). The Endres bill gave way to the Foley bill. Hearings were had upon the 11th

and the 18th of February, and the bill was discussed at length. Arguments against it were presented by representatives of various societies, including the City Reform Club, and by individuals. Upon the 4th of March the bill was reported favorably by the committee with various amendments. The Sunday opening clause was stricken out, and the "police spy" clause was changed in such a manner as to make it appear comparatively harmless. The bill was then made a "special order," upon second reading, for the 31st of March. At this time, because of a factional disturbance among the democrats, the bill was referred back to the committee on excise, after having been amended in many important particulars, as a result of a combination of the democrats from Albany and Troy with the republicans. After the factional fight among the democrats had been settled, the bill was again reported favorably to the assembly, with the amendments stricken out. In this restored form it came up for final passage upon the 13th of April, and was passed by a vote of 67 to 54.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Byrne, Connelly, Dinkelspiel, Drypoleher, Duffy, Farquhar, Foley, Hahlo, Martin, McManus, Mullaney, O'Dair, Roche, Sohmer, Southworth, Stein, Sullivan, Sulzer, Walker, Webster and Wissig.—
21.

NOES.—Messrs. Conkling, Hoag and Wells.—3.

The bill was then sent to the senate for concurrence, and came up for final passage upon the 19th of April. It was not referred to a committee, and no hearings were granted upon the bill. Here, as in the assembly, numerous amendments were offered by the republican members, and voted down, and the bill was passed by a vote of 17 to 14.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Ahearn, Brown, Cantor, Hagan, McMahon, Plunkitt and Roesch.—7.

The bill was then sent to the Governor, and by his signature became law upon the 30th of April.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY EXCISE ACTS.

THE "CIVIL DAMAGE" ACT.

LAWS OF 1892, CHAPTER 402.

Senate bill introductory No. 841, not printed, introduced by Mr. Cantor of New York.

THE DRUGGISTS' LICENSE ACT.

LAWS OF 1892, CHAPTER 403.

Senate bill introductory No. 842, not printed, introduced by Mr. Cantor of New York.

During the passage of the Foley bill in the senate, and near the end of the session, the opponents of the bill raised the objections that druggists were treated unfairly in the bill, and that the "civil damage" clause was not sufficiently stringent. The democratic members, rather than imperil the passage of the bill at that late day, agreed to introduce and pass separate measures covering these grounds. Accordingly, Senator Cantor introduced two bills. One provided that a storekeeper's license might be issued to a druggist, and the other provided that actions might be brought, and damages recovered, from the person selling liquor, or the owner or lessor of the premises where liquor was sold, when such selling resulted in intoxication and damage by the intoxicated person *provided that written notice had previously been served upon the licensee or his agents.* While this provision, which extends to the owner or lessor of the premises where the liquor is sold liability for damage, is an im-

provement upon section 40 of the Foley act, the effect is still a practical nullification of the "civil damage act." It is hardly necessary to point out the fact that to require such written notice works a practical repeal of the "civil damage act" as to all cities and large towns. The two acts were passed by practically the same vote as the Foley act, and became respectively chapters 401 and 402 of the laws of 1892.

THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT ACT.

LAWS OF 1892, CHAPTER 265.

Senate Bill No. 194. Introduced by Mr. Plunkitt of New York.

The bill was known as the "Verified Excise Complaint Bill," because in its original form it provided that complaints made against liquor-dealers for violating the excise law should be verified "in the same manner as pleadings are required to be verified in the Code of Civil Procedure." It is of special importance as showing the willingness of the legislature to come to the aid of politicians holding public office who are charged with offences against the law. A short summary of the events which preceded the passage of this bill will show its pernicious character. In 1889 the excise commissioners of the City of New York failed in their duty, in refusing to revoke the licenses of certain liquor-dealers who had violated the law. For this refusal to perform their official duty, the commissioners were indicted in May, 1890, and were brought to trial in March, 1891. On the trial, Recorder Smythe directed the jury to render a verdict in favor of the defendants on the ground that there was a material variance between the indictment and the proof. The commissioners were re-indicted in April, 1891. On the second trial, in the latter part of April, 1891, the plea of former acquittal was interposed. A verdict was directed

for the people, but judgment was arrested, in order that the question as to former acquittal might be determined by a higher court. In October, 1891, the General Term vacated this order of arrest of judgment. The defendants then appealed to the Court of Appeals, which in March, 1892, dismissed the appeal on the ground that the Code did not allow an appeal to the Court of Appeals. An amendment to the law was then passed by the legislature, granting the right to appeal, thus allowing the question of former acquittal to come before the Court of Appeals. The Court of Appeals, on the 26th of April, 1892, affirmed the decision of the General Term, and thus removed the technical objection to the trial of the defendants on the merits. On May 16th, 1892, the commissioners were brought before Judge Ingraham, at Oyer and Terminer for trial. The bill under consideration had become law on the 9th day of April, 1892. This act related exclusively to the duties of the board of excise in regard to complaints preferred against liquor-dealers, and upon its face merely made two or three desirable changes in the law. But Judge Ingraham held that the act repealed the law under which the commissioners had been indicted, and that the indictment could not stand. In dismissing the indictment, Judge Ingraham said: "I regret to see that the legislature has thus provided a new avenue of escape from punishment for crime."

While the purpose of the bill was to defeat the prosecution of the excise commissioners, the bill was so drawn that this purpose was not apparent. It would not be safe, therefore, to charge those who voted for it with a deliberate intention to aid the guilty officials in escaping punishment. At the same time, senators and assemblymen from this city knew that these commissioners had long been under indictment, and had resorted to every possible device to pre-

vent the trial of their case upon its merits. These senators and assemblymen also knew that the Foley Excise bill, introduced early in the session, was supposed to cover the whole ground of excise legislation. Senator Plunkitt, in speaking for the bill upon the floor of the Senate, stated that he had introduced the bill at the request of the excise commissioners of New York City. These facts should have led any honest member of the legislature to subject the bill to the most careful scrutiny, and to satisfy himself as to the motive behind the bill. That some ulterior motive was to be looked for, was evident from Senator Plunkitt's open statement that the bill had come to him from the indicted commissioners. The provisions of this bill appeared also in the Foley Excise Bill, and the obvious attempt to separate them, and to pass the Verified Complaint Bill ahead of the Foley Bill, indicated that the commissioners had some special reason for desiring the immediate passage of the Verified Complaint Bill.

The bill was introduced in the Senate on the 27th of January, and referred to the committee on judiciary (Mr. Roesch of New York, chairman). Upon the 4th of February it was reported favorably by this committee, and was ordered to a third reading. On the 10th of February it came up for final passage, and was defeated by a vote of 16 to 14. Seventeen votes were necessary to pass it.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Ahearn, Cantor, Hagan, McMahon, Plunkitt and Roesch.—6.

NOES.—Mr. Brown.

Mr. Plunkitt then made the usual parliamentary motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was lost, and to lay the motion on the table, which was carried.

Upon the 16th of February Mr. Plunkitt called this motion from the table. The vote by which the bill was lost

was then reconsidered, and the bill passed by a vote of 18 to 8.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Ahearn, Cantor, Hagan, McMahon, Plunkitt and Roesch.

Mr. Brown was absent.

At this time Mr. Plunkitt acknowledged that he had received the bill from the Board of Excise in the City of New York, and that they desired the passage of the bill upon the grounds that the requirement that complaints should be verified would prevent irresponsible persons from blackmailing liquor-dealers by means of unfounded complaints. Upon this representation several of the senators from the interior voted for the bill.

The bill was then sent to the Assembly for concurrence, and referred to the committee on excise (Mr. Foley of New York, chairman). It was reported favorably by this committee upon the 26th of February, and ordered to a second reading. Upon the 14th of March it came up for final passage, and was defeated by a vote of 53 to 38, sixty-five votes being necessary to pass it.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Byrne, Connelly, Dinkelpiel, Duffy, Farquhar, Foley, Hahlo, Martin, McManus, Mullaney, O'Dair, Roche, Sohmer, Southworth, Stein, Sullivan, Sulzer, Walker, Webster and Wissig.—20.

NOES.—Messrs. Conkling, Hoag and Wells.—3.

NOT VOTING.—Mr. Dinkelpiel.

Mr. Foley then made the usual motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was lost and to lay the motion on the table, which was carried.

Upon April 6th, Mr. Sulzer called this motion from the table. The vote was reconsidered. Mr. Husted of West-

chester then moved that the bill be amended by striking out that part which required that complaints be "verified in the same manner as pleadings are required to be verified in the Code of Civil Procedure." This amendment was adopted by unanimous consent. The bill was then placed upon its final passage, and was passed without a dissenting vote, by 85 affirmative votes.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Byrne, Conkling, Connelly, Dinkel-spiel, Drypolcher, Duffy, Farquhar, Foley, Hahlo, Martin, McManus, Mullaney, O'Dair, Roche, Sohmet, Southworth, Stein, Sulzer, Walker and Wissig.—20.

NOES.—none.

NOT VOTING.—Messrs. Hoag, Sullivan, Webster and Wells.—4.

The bill was then sent to the senate for concurrence in the amendment. It was received the same day, the amendment concurred in, and was passed by a vote of 18 to 6. All the New York City members voted in the affirmative, except Mr. Brown, who did not vote.

The bill was then sent to the Governor in the usual manner, and by his signature became a law upon the 9th of April.

THE "BLANKET BALLOT" BILL.

Assembly Bill No. 1335. Introduced by Mr. Conkling of New York.

Senate Bill No. 291. Introduced by Mr. Saxton of Wayne County.

Did not become law.

Of the good measures which were introduced in the last legislature, and rejected by that body, perhaps none was of more importance to the people of the state than the

“Blanket Ballot” Bill. The attitude assumed toward that measure by both houses showed plainly the indifference felt by the majority of the members to the public welfare.

The bill was designed to remedy the defects of the “Ballot Reform Act” of 1890. For the separate ballots required by that act for each party making nominations, the bill proposed to substitute a single “blanket ballot” to be printed and distributed at public expense, containing the names of all of the candidates to be balloted for at the election; thus diminishing the expense of the election; rendering it impossible to ascertain the manner in which any particular voter had voted; and sweeping away those defects of the earlier act which had made it possible to effect a wholesale disfranchisement of electors, as in Onondaga County in 1891. It prohibited the use of “paster ballots,” thus rendering it unnecessary for political parties to have an army of workers to distribute “pasters” at the polling places, and destroying the pretext upon which they had mainly relied in levying enormous assessments upon candidates. In order to preserve the rights of the “illiterate voter,” concerning which the machine politicians have always been so solicitous, it provided that the candidates of the several parties should be distinguished upon the ballot by printed emblems or devices.

Of the bill as introduced it may be said that a more carefully considered measure has rarely been laid before the legislature. It had been drafted by a non-partisan committee composed largely of eminent lawyers, who had given the matter careful study. It had been submitted for criticism to the press, and suggestions had been invited from hundreds of political leaders and others all over the state, none of which, when made, were allowed to pass unconsidered. Nevertheless, the provision that no voter should be permitted to write anything upon his ballot, is

clearly indefensible. It was inserted against the judgment of many who were interested in the preparation of the bill. This provision would deprive the voter of his fundamental right to vote for anyone who is eligible to the office to be filled. The voter has a right, of which the legislature cannot deprive him, to make his choice of a candidate at the moment of voting. Immediately before an election, circumstances might give rise to the strongest popular feeling against candidates whose names were printed on the official ballot, and in favor of candidates who were put forward at the last moment, and whose names were not upon the official ballot. The bill proposed to prevent the expression of any such popular feeling. The bill might well have been opposed because of this provision; but the opposition did not take this ground. Every vote against the bill was cast as a vote against the general principle of the blanket ballot, and without reference to the one serious defect in the bill. If the majority had opposed the bill because of this defect, an attempt would have been made to correct the bill in this particular. The vote may, therefore, be regarded as a test upon the general question.

The bill was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Saxton of Wayne County on February 4th, and in the Assembly by Mr. Conkling of New York on March 16th. In the senate it was referred to the committee on judiciary, and in the Assembly to the committee on general laws.

A hearing was had upon the measure before the senate committee on March 2d, at which the arguments in behalf of the bill were fully presented. The committee failed to report the bill.

At a hearing before the assembly committee on general laws on March 17th, the friends of the measure warmly advocated its passage.

Upon the 7th of April, the committee having failed to make any report on the bill, Mr. Conkling of New York moved to discharge the committee from further consideration of the bill, but this motion was defeated by a vote 61 to 60. The effect of Mr. Conkling's motion, had it prevailed, would have been to bring the bill before the house for consideration and action. A vote against this motion was a vote against the bill.

New York City members voted as follows:—

AYES.—Messrs. Conkling, Hoag, O'Dair, and Wells.—4.

NOES.—Messrs. Byrnes, Connelly, Dinkelspiel, Duffy, Farquhar, Foley, Hahlo, Martin, McManus, Mullaney, Roche, Southworth, Stein, Sullivan, Sulzer, Walker, Webster, and Wissig.—18.

NOT VOTING.—Messrs. Drypolcher, and Sohmer.

The fate of this bill is a striking illustration of the indifference of the last legislature to the public welfare. It was devised to remedy serious defects in the statute of 1890. It was warmly supported by the best newspapers of both parties. No single voice was openly raised against it in the committees, and no argument was advanced against it. But the bill had incurred the silent hostility of the worst class of professional politicians. Under its provisions bribery and deals would have been more difficult; the secrecy of the ballot more inviolate; the pretext for assessments less plausible, and the "machine" less essential to political success. It was, in short, a reform measure, and for that reason it was killed by the gang of political freebooters who controlled the majority in the past session.

TABLE SHOWING CERTAIN VOTES OF NEW
LATURE

	THE FOLEY EX- CISE BILL.	THE FARQUHAR ELECTIONS INSPECTORS' BILL.	THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL.
	Assembly bills Nos. 461, 1087, 1432 and 1521.	Assembly bill No. 1296.	Senate bill No. 444.
	Became law. Chapter 401, laws of 1892.	Became law. Chapter 400, laws of 1892.	Became law. Chapter 142, laws of 1892.
	A bill concocted by the liquor deal- ers for the sole purpose of reliev- ing them of re- strictions and re- sponsibility im- posed upon them. An outrageous bill. Vote upon final passage, 13th April, 1892.	Reducing the number of inspec- tors of elections in New York City from four to three, so drawn that two of them would be democrats and one a republican. A partisan mea- sure in the inter- est of Tammany Hall. Vote upon final passage upon the 13th of April, 1892.	Providing for the construction of a "speeding driveway" seven- ty feet wide along the West side of Central Park, from 59th to 110th Sts. A bad bill. Vote upon final passage, 17th March, 1892.
Walter G. Byrne	Aye.	Aye.	Not voting.
Alfred R. Conkling	No.	Aye.	No.
John Connally	Aye.	Aye.	Not voting.
Moses Dinkelspiel	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
Louis Drypolcher	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
Patrick H. Duffy	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
Percival Farquhar	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
Samuel J. Foley	Aye.	Aye.	Not voting.
Louis H. Hahlo	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
William N. Hoag	No.	No.	Not voting.
Daniel F. Martin	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
Thomas J. McManus	Aye.	No.	Not voting.
Dominick F. Mullaney	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
William J. O'Dair	Aye.	Aye.	No.
Patrick H. Roche	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
William Sohmer	Aye.	Aye.	No.
James H. Southworth	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
Myer J. Stein	Aye.	Aye.	Not voting.
Timothy D. Sullivan	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
William Sulzer	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
William H. Walker	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
George P. Webster	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
James L. Wells	No.	No.	No.
Philip Wissig	Aye.	Aye.	Aye.

BAD VOTES IN

YORK CITY ASSEMBLYMEN IN THE LEGISLATURE OF 1892.

THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL.	THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL.	THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL.	THE "BLANKET BALLOT" REFORM BILL.
Senate bill No. 791.	Assembly bill No. 21.	Assembly bill No. 231.	Assembly bill No. 1335.
Became law. Chapter 370, laws of 1892.	Became law. Chapter 340, laws of 1892.	Did not become law.	Did not become law.
To repeal the Central Park Speedway Act. A good bill. Vote upon final passage, 14th April, 1892.	Giving the Union Railway Company a practical monopoly in street surface railways in the 23rd and 24th wards, without due compensation to the city. A bad bill, in the interest of certain influential politicians. Vote on final passage upon the 4th of April, 1892.	Prohibiting direct or indirect payment of any assessment or contributions to any person or political organization by any candidate for any judicial office. Vote upon motion to disagree with the adverse report of the committee on general laws, March 4th, 1892.	Providing for the most desirable change in the election law. The bill was imperfect; but the vote seems to have been directly upon the general principle. Vote upon motion to discharge the committee on general laws from its consideration of the bill, April 7th, 1892.
Aye. Aye. Aye.	Aye. No. No.	No. Aye. Not voting.	No. Aye. No.
Aye. Aye. Aye.	Aye. Aye. Aye.	No. Not voting. Not voting.	No. Not voting. No.
Aye. Aye. Aye.	Aye. Aye. Not voting.	Not voting. No. Aye.	No. No. No.
Aye. Aye. Aye.	No. Aye. Aye.	Not voting. Not voting. Not voting.	Aye. No. No.
Aye. Aye. Aye.	Aye. Aye. Aye.	Not voting. Aye. No.	No. Aye. No.
Aye. Not voting. Aye.	Aye. Aye. Aye.	Not voting. No. No.	Not voting. No. No.
Aye. Aye. Aye.	Aye. Aye. Aye.	No. No. No.	No. No. No.
Aye. Not voting. Aye.	Aye. Aye. Aye.	Aye. Not voting. No.	Aye. Aye. No.

HEAVY TYPE.

TABLE SHOWING CERTAIN VOTES OF NEW
OF

	THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL.	THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS' BILL.
	Assembly bill Nos. 461, 1087, 1432 and 1521.	Assembly bill No. 1296.
	Became law. Chapter 401, laws of 1892.	Became law. Chapter 400, laws of 1892.
	A bill concocted by the liquor dealers for the pur- pose of relieving them of restrictions and responsibil- ity imposed upon them by law. An outrageous bill. Vote on final passage, April 19th, 1892.	Reducing the number of election inspectors in New York City from four to three, so drawn that two would be Democrats and one a Republican. An out- rageous bill in the interest of Tammany Hall. Vote on final passage on April 19th, 1892.
Ahearn	Aye.	Aye.
Brown	Aye.	Aye.
Cantor	Aye.	Aye.
Hagan	Aye.	Aye.
McMahon	Aye.	Aye.
Plunkitt	Aye.	Aye.
Roesch	Aye.	Aye.

BAD VOTES IN

**YORK CITY SENATORS, IN THE LEGISLATURE
1892.**

THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL.	THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL.	THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL.
Senate bill No. 444.	Senate bill No. 791.	Assembly Bill No. 21.
Became law, Chapter 142, laws of 1892.	Became law. Chapter 370, laws of 1892.	Became law. Chapter 340, laws of 1892.
To establish a speeding driveway seventy feet wide along the west side of Central Park from 59th to 110th streets. A bad bill in the interest of a few owners of fast horses. Vote on final passage on March 1st, 1892.	To repeal Chapter 142, laws of 1892, which established a speeding driveway in Central Park. Vote on final passage on April 1st, 1892.	Giving the Union Railway Company a practical monopoly in street surface railroads in the 23d and 24th wards, without due compensation to the city. A bad bill in the interest of certain influential politicians. Vote on final passage April 5th, 1892.
Aye. Not voting. Aye. Aye. Aye. Aye. Aye.	Aye. Not voting. Aye. Not voting. Aye. Not voting. Aye.	Aye. Aye. Aye. Aye. Aye. Aye.

HEAVY TYPE.

ASSEMBLYMEN.

PATRICK H. DUFFY, 1st ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[1st Assembly district bounded by Canal St., Broadway, Park Row, Spruce St., Gold St., Ferry St., and Peck Slip, and East and Hudson Rivers. Includes also Governor's, Bedloe's, and Ellis Islands.

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LIQUOR DEALER, *442 Washington St. House, 442 Washington St.*

Mr. Duffy was born in Cork, Ireland, 16th March, 1847, and immigrated to this country when about seven years of age. He attended public schools. When about twenty-four years old, he became a bar-tender in a saloon, which he soon owned. He now has a saloon at 442 Washington Street. He was member of assembly in 1884, as an Irving Hall democrat. He served again in 1889, '90, and '91 as a Tammany democrat, making a bad record. He is illiterate, shameless, and unfit to represent the important district from which he comes.

Mr. Duffy's record for the past session is similar to his record for former years. He introduced his favorite strikes, and voted consistently on the wrong side. He paid but little attention to legislative business, and was absent often.

Received when elected, 2,925 votes; Archibald Hamilton, republican, 1,299; John J. Lonergan, county democrat, 759. Total number of votes cast, 5,280.

Chairman standing committee (1) on public health; member of standing committees (2) on railroads, and (3) on soldiers' home.

He introduced 6 bills. Among them were:—

No. 77. An act to provide for the conversion of Castle Garden into a house of popular amusement and recreation.*

* Did not become law.

No. 78. A bill requiring railroads within cities to run their trains at intervals not greater than one-half hour, day and night. Aimed at the 9th Avenue Elevated Railroad. A favorite strike of Mr. Duffy's.*

No. 326. Making it a felony to engage in pool-selling or betting except upon race tracks. A strike.*

No. 1288. Reducing the fare upon street surface railroads in New York City from five to three cents. A strike of the most flagrant character.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

TIMOTHY D. SULLIVAN, 2d ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[2d Assembly district bounded by Canal St., Bowery, Catharine St., East River, Peck Slip, Ferry St., Gold St., Spruce St., Park Row, and Broadway.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LIQUOR DEALER, 17 Centre Street.

House, 2 Franklin Street.

Mr. Sullivan was born in New York City, 23d July, 1863, of Irish parents. His early associations were not good. He received six or seven years' schooling in the public schools of this city. He was employed in various newspaper-delivery offices for several years. He afterwards became a liquor-dealer; then an undertaker; then a liquor-dealer again. He appears as a "lawyer" in the city directory.

* Did not become law.

He now has the saloon known as "The Wigwam," at 17 Centre Street, formerly owned by "Fatty" Walsh. He was a member of the Assembly in 1887, '88, '89, '90, and '91, representing the second district, and made a bad record. During his first two terms he was a County democrat; he then joined Tammany. He belongs to the worst class of bar-room politicians. He has engaged in street brawls, poses as a fighter, and is a typical New York "tough." As a legislator he is preposterous. He is dishonest, and has been accused upon the floor of the House of using money to defeat certain bills. During the session of 1891, particularly, Mr. Sullivan worked so carelessly as to make it apparent that he was in the legislature for his own pecuniary advantage.

Mr. Sullivan's record for the past session is the worst one that he has made since he has been in the assembly. As he gains in knowledge, his powers for evil increase. He is now the recognized leader of the "Black Horse Cavalry," and is undoubtedly the best leader that they could have chosen. He maintained his reputation for buffoonery, and was frequently guilty of impropriety in addressing fellow members upon the floor of the assembly. Mr. Sullivan's activity was greater this year than in any previous year. He introduced 32 bills. Many of these were time-worn strikes, while others were introduced for the benefit of corporations which had selected Mr. Sullivan as the most suitable man to represent them in the legislature.

Received when elected, 4,797 votes; Archibald G. Taggart, County democrat and republican, 1,052. Total number of votes cast, 5,957.

Chairman standing committee (1) on commerce and navigation; member of standing committees (2) on charitable and religious societies, and (3) on printing and engrossed bills.

He introduced 32 bills. Among them were:—

No. 62. Compelling the Manhattan Elevated Railway Company to remove its structure in the Battery Park. A strike. Introduced also in 1891.*

No. 238. Providing for the construction of a bridge across the East River at Blackwell's Island, to connect with the Grand Central Railway station. Became law. Chapter 411, laws of 1892.

No. 279. To incorporate the East River Bridge Company, and to provide for the construction of a bridge across the East River, from a point between Delancey and Rivington Streets in the City of New York, to Broadway in Brooklyn. Became law. Chapter 101, laws of 1892.

No. 593. Amending the Rapid Transit Act of 1891 in such a manner as to allow the construction of three miles of cross town elevated railways to connect with the new East River Bridge, as provided for in his bill No. 297. Became law. Chapter 102, laws of 1892.

No. 390. Reducing the rates of interest which pawn-brokers may charge. A strike.*

No. 575. To compel manufacturers of baking powders to print upon each package of powder the ingredients of which the powder is composed. A strike.*

No. 593. In relation to the proposed elevated bridge of the New York and Harlem Railway across the Harlem River.*

No. 851. Allowing the fire commissioners in New York to run for office without resigning the office of commissioner. An old and vicious bill. Popularly supposed to be in the interest of Fire Commissioner Henry D. Purroy, who is said to be a candidate for mayor. Became law. Chapter 23, laws of 1892.

* Did not become law.

No. 865. Providing for the appointment of three commissioners at a salary of \$5,000 each, to inquire into the alleged increased pressure of gas since the reduction in price several years ago. A strike.*

No. 1232. Increasing the pension of the superintendent and of the chief inspector of police in New York City. Introduced in Senate by Mr. Hagan. Became law. Chapter 52, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

PERCIVAL FARQUHAR, 3d ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[3d Assembly district bounded by East 23d St., 3d Ave., Bowery, Canal St. and Broadway.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. COMMISSION MERCHANT, *Cotton Exchange Building.*

House, 1 East 28th Street.

Mr. Farquhar was born in York, Pennsylvania, in 1863, of American parents, graduated from Yale College, and was admitted to the bar. He does not now practise law, but is connected with the firm of A. B. Farquhar & Co., commission merchants in the Cotton Exchange Building. He was an unsuccessful candidate for assembly of 1890. It is well understood that he owes his entrance into politics to Calvin S. Brice. While Mr. Farquhar is a man of education and

* Did not become law.

fair capacity, he seems to lack all inclination to use these advantages for any good purpose. He shows neither moral force nor real political convictions. He attaches himself to Tammany Hall as the most probable channel of political advancement in the democratic party. In education, association, and intelligence, Mr. Farquhar is far above the Tammany standard. He served in the Assembly of 1891, and such record as he made was bad. He was chiefly noticeable for his ridiculous efforts to pass a bill to turn the top of the 42d Street reservoir into a sort of beer garden.

Mr. Farquhar's record for the past session is thoroughly bad. He appeared to have sold himself to Tammany Hall. He introduced one of the worst bills of the session,—the election inspectors bill. He displayed no independence of thought or action, and voted for all the partisan measures. In respect to bad bills that were comparatively unimportant, he proved, as in the session of 1891, to be a persistent dodger.

Received when elected, 3,539 votes; Joseph Gallo, republican, 1,980; Thomas F. Byrne, county democrat, 428. Total number of votes cast, 6,286.

Chairman standing committee (1) on military affairs; member of standing committees (2) on banks, and (3) on ways and means.

He introduced 24 bills. Among them were:—

No. 235. Compelling the personal registration of voters in country districts. The purpose of this bill was to diminish the rural republican vote.*

No. 562. Creating an additional bureau in the department of public works of New York City, and transferring to it certain powers now possessed by the commissioner of street improvements in the annexed district. A partisan measure

* Did not become law.

of the most approved Tammany type. Introduced in the interest of Henry D. Purroy, and aimed against Commissioner Heintz. Introduced in Senate by Mr. Hagan.*

No. 986. Creating the office of legislative counsel at a salary of \$7,500 a year. This bill was believed to be in the interest of Prof. Charles A. Colin of Cornell University. Introduced in senate by Mr. Roesch.*

No. 1219. Amending the ballot reform act of 1890, by providing that all ballots, before being given to voters, shall be folded in such a manner as to leave creases clearly indicating the proper manner in which they should be folded when voted.*

No. 1220. Amending chapter 6 of the general laws in relation to elections. Became law. Chapter 680, laws of 1892.

Nos. 1475 and 1555. Amending section 41 of the Penal Code by adding twenty-two sub-divisions relating to crimes against the elective franchise. Became law. Chapter 693, laws of 1892.

No. 1296. Amending the Consolidation Act so as to provide for the appointment of partisan boards of election inspectors, by reducing the number of republican inspectors from two to one, thus making the board consist of two democrats and one republican; known as the Farquhar election inspectors bill. Became law. Chapter 400, laws of 1892. (See histories of bills, page 28.)

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE LILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS' BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	DID NOT VOTE

* Did not become law.

PATRICK H. ROCHE, 4th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[4th Assembly district bounded by Division St., Grand St., Jackson St., East River, and Catherine St.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LIQUOR DEALER, 95 *Market St.*

House, 87 Market Street.

Mr. Roche was born in Ireland, 28th August, 1852, and came to this country when a child. He was educated in public schools and De La Salle Institute. He was formerly a ship-chandler, but is now a liquor-dealer at 95 Market Street. He was a member of assembly in 1883, '84, and '85. He voted against the civil service bills, but in favor of the cheap gas bills. He ran for assembly in 1889, and was defeated. Served in the assembly of 1891 and made a bad record. A man of no personal force and without influence even among his own associates.

Mr. Roche's record for the last session is bad. He voted for all the vicious and questionable bills, and acted as one of the chiefs of the rum lobby. He was a recognized member of the "Black Horse Cavalry," and introduced his usual number of strikes against corporations.

Received when elected, 4,987 votes; Daniel E. Dowling, county democrat and republican, 2,682. Charles Franz, socialistic-labor, 219. Total number of votes cast, 8,371.

Member of standing committees (1) on insurance; (2) on electricity, gas and water supply, and (3) on public printing.

He introduced 13 bills. Among them were:—

No. 97. Grading the park police of New York City, and raising their salaries. Became law in a modified form. Chapter 365, laws of 1892.

No. 346, 993, and 1384. Imposing a tax of five, ten,

and twenty per cent. upon the gross receipts at race meetings, according to the amount of receipts.*

No. 557. Reducing the rates of ferriage on the College Point ferry. A strike.*

No. 1139. Providing for a state bureau of steam engineering.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXC SE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

DOMINICK F. MULLANEY, 5th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[5th Assembly district bounded by W. Houston St., Hancock St., Bleecker St., Broadway, Canal St., and Hudson River.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. MANAGER OF SHOE STORE, 281 Hudson Street.

House, 71 Charlton Street.

Mr. Mullaney was born in the City of New York, 25th July, 1854, of Irish parents. He was educated in the public schools. He is now manager of his mother's shoe store at 281 Hudson street. He was a member of the assembly in 1883 and '84, leaving a fair record. He was a candidate for alderman in 1886, and was defeated by Henry W. Jaehne. He served in the assembly of 1889, '90, and '91, and made a bad record. He is a corrupt and incompetent legislator.

* Did not become law.

Mr. Mullaney's record for the past session is thoroughly bad. As usual, he associated with the worst and most corrupt members of the assembly. He gave little time to legislative work, was continually absent from his seat, and spent much of his time "playing pinochle with Duffy down at the "Delavan."

Received when elected, 3,061 votes; William H. Leonard, County democrat, Voorhis democrat and republican, 2,447. Total number of votes cast, 5,620.

Member of standing committees (1) on affairs of cities, (2) on electricity, gas and water supply, and (3) on state prisons.

He introduced 5 bills. Among them were:—

No. 448. To provide for labeling receptacles containing oil or lard, of which cotton-seed oil is a component part. A favorite strike of Mr. Mullaney's.*

No. 1000. Providing for an increase of \$150 in the salaries of chiefs of battalions in the fire department of New York.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL. . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	DID NOT VOTE

* Did not become law.

SAMUEL J. FOLEY, 6th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[6th Assembly district bounded by Rivington St., Clinton St., Stanton St., East River, Jackson St., Grand St., Division St., and Norfolk St.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAW CLERK, 51 Chambers Street.

House, 448 Grand Street.

Mr. Foley was born in Quebec, Canada, 10th July, 1862, of Irish-Canadian parents, and came to this city when a child. He attended public schools, and evening high schools. He was employed by the dry goods firm of E. D. Cordes & Company for fifteen years. Mr. Foley ran for assembly in 1886, and was defeated. He served in the assembly in 1891, and made a clean personal record, marred only by his partisan votes. After the adjournment of the legislature he was employed by the dry goods firm of H. B. Claflin & Co. He is now a law clerk in the office of Assemblyman Martin and ex-Assemblyman Holcomb, at 51 Chambers Street. Mr. Foley is not corrupt.

The promise which Mr. Foley gave last year of making a good record, he failed to fulfil. He was the sponsor and the advocate of the most iniquitous excise bill that ever passed the legislature. He gloried in this position, saying that "he would get jumped on for voting for the bill anyway," and that he might as well get credit from the liquor-dealers for introducing it.

Received when elected, 4,271 votes; John Simpson, republican, 3,350; Aaron Henry, socialistic labor, 289. Total number of votes cast, 8,043.

Chairman of standing committee (1) on excise; member of standing committees (2) on taxation and retrenchment, (3)

on commerce and navigation, and (4) on public institutions.

He introduced 2 bills. They were:—

Nos. 461, 1087, 1432, and 1521. The liquor-dealers excise bill. Became law. Chapter 401, laws of 1892. (See histories of bills, page 44).

No. 185. Increasing the terms of the Aldermen of New York from one to two years. A provision was added increasing the number of aldermen from twenty-five to thirty, and in this form the bill became law. Chapter 408, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	DID NOT VOTE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

ALFRED R. CONKLING, 7th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[7th Assembly district bounded by W. 23d St., Broadway, Bleeker St., Carmine St., 6th Ave., W. Washington Place, W. 4th St., 8th Ave., W. 16th St., and 7th Ave.]

REPUBLICAN, LAWYER, 170 Broadway.

House, 27 E. 10th Street.

Mr. Conkling was born in New York City, 28th September, 1850. He is a nephew of the late U. S. Senator Roscoe Conkling. He was graduated from Yale College in 1870. He entered the University of Berlin in 1872 for the study of geology and mineralogy. Mr. Conkling was graduated from the Columbia College Law School in 1879. He was after-

wards appointed geologist upon surveys and explorations conducted by the Federal Government west of the one hundredth meridian. He was Assistant United States District Attorney under Stewart L. Woodford, in 1881-'82. He ran for Congress in 1884 and was defeated. He was alderman from the 7th district in 1887 and 1888, and made a good record.

Mr. Conkling's record for the past session is excellent. He was regular in attendance, showed a desire to ascertain the merits of every bill introduced, and to become thoroughly versed in the workings of the legislative machinery. He was fearless and prompt in the discharge of his duty, and never hesitated to attack any bill which seemed to him to threaten the interests of the public, although he was unsupported by the New York republican assemblymen in his attacks. A certain lack of tact prevented Mr. Conkling from wielding that influence in the assembly which might have been expected from a man of his intelligence and character.

Among all the representatives from New York, Mr. Conkling is the only one whose record shows that he acted for the good of the public only, uninfluenced by partisan dictation or by private ends.

Received when elected, 3,597 votes; Jenkins Van Schaick, Tammany democrat, 3,040; Edward T. Newell, Voorhis democrat, 632; George R. Simpson, County democrat, 247. Total number of votes cast, 7,642.

Member of standing committees (1) on labor and industries, and (2) on federal relations.

He introduced 10 bills. Among them were:—

No. 231. To prohibit the payment of assessments or contributions to organizations by candidates for judicial offices. An excellent bill. (See histories of bills, page 31.)*

* Did not become law.

No. 540. Requiring voters on registration to state their approximate age.*

No. 1335. Amending the ballot reform act. This was the blanket-ballot bill, more fully described at page 57. It is perhaps the most important reform measure that could be introduced. Its proposed provisions are essential to the completion of ballot reform in this state.*

No. 1439. To repeal the Plunkitt Central Park Speedway Act. Gave way to the Plunkitt Senate repeal bill, which became law. Chapter 370, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	No
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	No
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	No
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	No
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	AYE
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	AYE

PHILIP WISSIG. 8th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[8th assembly district bounded by Stanton St., Clinton St., Rivington St., Norfolk St., Division St., and Bowery.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LIQUOR DEALER, 270 Grand and 74 Stanton Street.

House, 104 Rivington Street.

Mr. Wissig was born at Cologne, Germany, 28th March, 1848, of German parents. He immigrated to this country about 1868. He was for several years employed as foreman in Knox's hat store, but was discharged for persistent use of vulgar and profane language. He now has a saloon at 74 Stanton Street and another at 270 Grand Street. He was

* Did not become law.

an unsuccessful candidate for the assembly of '82, '83, '87, '89, and '91. He was member of assembly in '88 and '90. He owed his election in both these years to factional disturbances among the republicans of his district. Mr. Wissig is ignorant, low, and corrupt; and he has invariably made a bad record in the assembly.

His record for the last session is thoroughly bad. His associates were selected from among the most corrupt elements. He voted for all the bad and questionable bills. In the debate upon the woman's suffrage bill Mr. Wissig went out of his way to make a speech which was so brutal and indecent as to be unfit to publish. He was severely rebuked by fellow members upon the floor of the house, and the speech was stricken from the records by resolution of the assembly. This speech provoked so much criticism that Tammany felt compelled to ask for his retirement from the leadership of the 8th assembly district, to which he had recently been elected.

Received when elected, 4,257 votes; Samuel Engle, republican, 2,056; Hugo Vogt, socialistic-labor, 387. Total number of votes cast, 7,154.

Chairman standing committees (1) on soldiers' home; member of standing committees (2) on commerce and navigation, (3) on claims, and (4) on public education.

He introduced 5 bills. Among them were:—

No. 503. An act to establish a pawn-broking corporation under the title of the "United States Loan Company." *

No. 528. To reduce the fares on the Astoria ferry boats. A strike.*

No. 1129. An anti-sweating bill.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL

AYE

THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .

AYE

* Did not become law.

THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

WILLIAM H. WALKER, 9th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[9th assembly district bounded by W. 16th St., 8th Ave., W. 4th St., W. Washington Place, 6th Ave., Bleecker St., Hancock St., W. Houston St., and Hudson River.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. BUILDER, 108 Leroy Street.

House, 6 St. Luke's Place.

Mr. Walker was born in Ireland in December, 1849. He attended public schools in Dublin. He immigrated in 1867, and worked as a carpenter until 1873. He is now a builder at 108 Leroy Street. Mr. Walker was alderman from the 9th district in 1887, '88, '89, and '90, and made a record somewhat better than that of the average alderman. He is a respectable man, and is superior to most New York assemblymen from the down-town districts.

Mr. Walker's record for the past session is bad. He proved himself to be a partisan legislator of small intelligence and no independence. He was not accused of dishonesty, but obeyed the commands of the Tammany leaders, and voted for all the bad bills favored by them. He exercised no influence whatsoever.

Received when elected, 4,507 votes; John P. Rockefeller, republican, 3,641; Frank W. Campbell, county democrat, 316. Total number of votes cast, 8,675.

Member of standing committees (1) on taxation and

retrenchment, (2) on privileges and elections, and (3) on trades and manufactures.

He introduced 8 bills. Among them were:—

No. 246. To provide for the re-building of certain piers along the Hudson River, in New York City, with upper stories for places of public recreation, and lower stories for the free use of canal-boats and other boats bringing merchandise to the city. Became law. Chapter 298, laws of 1892.

No. 766. Increasing the fees of the sheriff of New York. Became law. Chapter 418, laws of 1892.

No. 516. Defining the exact legal meaning of the terms "tenement houses" and "lodging houses."*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL . . .	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

WILLIAM SOHMER, 10th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[10th assembly district bounded by St. Mark's Place, Ave. A, 7th St., Ave. B, Clinton St., Stanton St., Bowery, and 3d Ave.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. MANAGER BRANCH OFFICE NIAGARA INSURANCE COMPANY, 9 *Third Avenue.*

House, 9 Third Avenue.

Mr. Sohmer was born in Wurtemburg, Germany, 26th May, 1852, and immigrated in 1859. He was educated in the public schools. He has been engaged in the insurance business since 1872. He served in the assembly in 1890

* Did not become law.

and made a good record, voting for the original form of the ballot reform bill, in opposition to his party, which threatened to "leave him at home" in the future. He served in the assembly in 1891, and made a fair record. Mr. Sohmer is a reputable business man, and is superior to the average assemblyman from the City of New York. His associations at Albany are good. He is regular in attendance at the sessions of the house. He is rarely heard in debate, but is well posted upon matters before the house.

Mr. Sohmer's record for the past session is not good. At party dictation, he voted for most of the bad measures, but voted against the Plunkitt Central Park Speedway bill. His course in obeying the dictates of the bosses of his party, and voting for such measures as the "Huckleberry Railroad" bill, which were designed for the pecuniary benefit of certain influential politicians, and which were in no sense political measures, was not to be expected from a man of Mr. Sohmer's calibre, and seriously mars his reputation as a legislator.

Received when elected, 5,217 votes; Frederick Kraemer, republican, 3,422; George Sieburg, socialistic-labor, 465. Total number of votes cast, 9,667.

Chairman standing committee (1) on public institutions; member of standing committees (2) on insurance, (3) on public education, and (4) on trades and manufactures.

He introduced 5 bills. Among them were:

No. 73. Restricting the employment of Pinkerton men. This bill requires that every private or special policeman shall be a citizen of the state and entitled to vote in the county in which he is appointed. Introduced in senate by Mr. Hagan. Became law. Chapter 272, laws of 1892.

No. 1126. Permitting the erection of the new municipal building in the City Hall Park. Introduced

in Senate by Mr. Roesch. Became law. Chapter 414, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	NO
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	DID NOT VOTE
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	DID NOT VOTE

WILLIAM NICHOLAS HOAG, 11th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[11th assembly district bounded by E. and W. 40th St., Lexington Ave., 23d St., 6th Ave., W. 25th St., and 7th Ave.]

REPUBLICAN. SECRETARY LAWRENCEVILLE CEMENT CO., 115 Broadway.

House, 55 West 39th Street.

Mr. Hoag was born in New York City, 5th September, 1861, of American parents, and was educated in the Military Academy at Poughkeepsie. He is now the secretary of the Lawrenceville Cement Company, at 115 Broadway. He served in the assembly of 1890, and made a good record. He ran for assembly in 1891, and was defeated. Mr. Hoag is an honest, but not an active or influential legislator.

Mr. Hoag's record for the past session is good, if judged by his votes. He seemed to think that in voting upon the right side he had discharged his full duty to his constituents, and refrained from active participation in the proceedings of the house. With certain other members of the minority, he was apparently willing to let the majority do its worst,

hoping that a bad record made by the democrats would help the republican party.

Received when elected, 3,134 votes; Henry C. Judson, democrat, 1,966. Total number of votes cast, 5,463.

Member of standing committees (1) on general laws, and (2) on public institutions.

He introduced 3 bills. One of them was:—

No. 1267. Amending the Consolidation Act by prohibiting the retirement of members of the police force upon pensions when they shall have reached the age of sixty, except upon proof that they are physically or mentally disabled.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	NO
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . . DID NOT VOTE	
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	NO
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	NO
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL DID NOT VOTE	
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	AYE
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL DID NOT VOTE	

MOSES DINKELSPIEL, 12th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[12th assembly district bounded by E. 11th St., East River, Stanton St., Clinton St., and Ave. B.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. NO KNOWN OCCUPATION BUT POLITICS.

House, 250 Seventh Street.

Mr. Dinkelpiel was born in New York City, 3d June, 1855, of German parents. He attended public schools. He was formerly a salesman in a dry goods house. He was recording clerk in the county clerk's office in 1883 and 1884. He was at one time a clerk for the book-making and

* Did not become law.

pool-selling firm of Daly & Company. In January, 1888, he was appointed paymaster in the auditor's department of the New York custom house; but after an investigation into his record had brought to light the fact of his connection with gamblers, he was not permitted to perform the duties of his office, and soon resigned. He was a member of assembly in 1886, '89, '90, and '91, and made a bad record each year. He is the representative of ex-county clerk Keenan, the Tammany leader of the 12th district, rather than of the people, and is a thoroughly partisan and utterly useless legislator.

Mr. Dinkelspiel's record differs in no important respect from that of last year, which was as bad as he could make it. He did not introduce any strikes, but was the reputed representative of several corporations. He voted for all the bad and questionable bills.

Received when elected, 3,973 votes; Morris Barnett, county democracy and republican, 2,992; Herman Miller, socialistic-labor, 344. Total number of votes cast, 7,528.

Chairman standing committee (1) on trades and manufactures; member of standing committees (2) on affairs of cities, (3) on public printing, and (4) on claims.

He introduced 5 bills. Among them were:—

No. 716. Amending the general railway act of 1890, in relation to consents for building street surface railways, sales of franchises at auction, and the collection of percentages due the city. Became law. Chapter 306, laws of 1892.

No. 1086. The advisory committee street cleaning bill, re-organizing the department of street cleaning of New York City. Introduced in senate by Mr. Hagan. Became law. Chapter 269, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL

AYE

THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . .

AYE

THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

JAMES H. SOUTHWORTH, 13th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[13th assembly district bounded by W. 26th St., 9th Ave., W. 32d St., 8th Ave., W. 29th St., 7th Ave., W. 25th St., 6th Ave., W. 23d St., 7th Ave., W. 16th St., Hudson River.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAWYER, 291 Broadway.
House, 316 W. 19th Street.

Mr. Southworth was born in New Berlin, N. Y., 2d August, 1850, of American parents. He was educated at Rome Academy and Union College. He was admitted to the bar in 1874. He is now a member of the law firm of Sheehan, Southworth, and Douras, 291 Broadway. One of his partners is Police Commissioner John C. Sheehan, the Tammany leader of the 13th district, who is a brother of Lieutenant-Governor Sheehan. He served in the assembly of 1891, and made a bad record.

Mr. Southworth's record for the last session is bad. While not identified with the strikers, he voted for all the bad measures, and was entirely under the control of the leader of his district, John C. Sheehan. Before the election last fall Mr. Southworth promised in writing to favor the passage of a blanket-ballot reform bill, but broke his pledge during the past session, and voted against advancing the bill in the assembly.

Received when elected, 4,108 votes; Frederick S. Gibbs, republican, 4,095; John L. Miller, County demo-

crat; 381; George Gethui, prohibitionist, 93. Total number of votes cast, 8,941.

Chairman standing committee (1) on public education; member of standing committees, (2) on general laws, (3) on codes, and (4) on public institutions.

He introduced 4 bills. Among them were:—

No. 1019. Providing for acquisition of sites for police stations and buildings in New York City, and for the erection of buildings thereon at the discretion of the police commissioners, and for an issue of bonds to meet the necessary payments. Introduced in senate by Mr. Plunkitt. A bad bill. Became law. Chapter 350, laws of 1892.

No. 1407. Amending the pool laws in such a manner as to do away with the present pool-rooms.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL DID NOT VOTE	
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

WILLIAM SULZER, 14th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[14th assembly district bounded by E. 14th St., 3d Ave., St. Mark's Place, Ave. A, 7th St., Ave. B, E. 11th St., East River.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAWYER, 2 Wall Street.

House, 312 E. 13th Street.

Mr. Sulzer was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, 18th March, 1863, of German parents, and attended the public

* Did not become law.

schools there. He was for a time a clerk in New York City, studying law at the same time. He was admitted to the bar in 1884. He is now a member of the firm of Sulzer and Smith, No. 2 Wall Street. Mr. Sulzer served in the assembly during the session of 1890 and 1891, and made a fair record. His character is above that of the ordinary Tammany assemblyman, but, while his honesty is unquestioned, he is always ready to vote for any measure, however iniquitous, at Tammany's behest.

Mr. Sulzer's record for the past session is bad, although he deserves credit for his votes upon some bills not presenting political considerations. He was the Tammany leader upon the floor of the assembly, and at times did not hesitate to stoop to tricky methods to advance measures in the interest of his organization, or to defeat measures which were opposed by the bosses of his party. He introduced many of the bad political bills, and defended Judge Maynard against the charges made by the Bar Association, both in the committee on judiciary, and in speeches upon the floor of the house.

Received when elected, 3,710 votes; John J. O'Rourke, county democrat, Voorhis democrat, and republican, 2,588, Henry Pein, socialistic labor, 263. Total number of votes cast, 6,628.

Chairman standing committee (1) on judiciary; member of standing committees, (2) on codes, (3) on public institutions, and (4) on rules.

He introduced 40 bills. Among them were:—

No. 160. Providing for the appointment of four additional attendants in the City Court of New York.*

No. 255. Exempting bank cashiers and tellers and their chief assistants from jury duty. Introduced in senate by Mr. McMahon.*

* Did not become law.

No. 299. Increasing the salaries of officers of the Court of General Sessions.*

Nos. 377 and 1026. Establishing a state reformatory for women. Introduced in Senate by Mr. McMahon. Became law. Chapter 637, laws of 1892.

No. 1021. Allowing the erection of the new municipal building in Bryant Park (at 42nd Street), in New York.*

No. 1250. Providing for the holding of a state constitutional convention. Became law. Chapter 398, laws of 1892.

No. 1398. Giving the Court of Special Sessions in New York City exclusive jurisdiction in certain misdemeanor cases.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

LOUIS DRYPOLCHER, 15th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[15th assembly district bounded by W. 40th St., 7th Ave., W. 29th St., 8th Ave., W. 32d St., 9th Ave., W. 26th St., and Hudson River.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. FINE ART DEALER.

House, 242 W. 37th Street.

Mr. Drypolcher was born in New York City, 22d July, 1851, of German parents, and was educated in the public schools. He now calls himself a "fine art dealer." Mr. Drypolcher is a vicious politician of the lowest class, and a

* Did not become law,

thorough going partisan. He served in the assembly of 1891, and at once made a reputation as a striker. His associates are selected from the low and corrupt elements.

Mr. Drypolcher was not so active during the last session as in '91; and he introduced a smaller number of strikes than usual. In other respects he maintained his bad record of the previous year, and voted consistently for all the bad measures. In conversation with a member of the City Reform Club last winter, Mr. Drypolcher said, "Don't say 'in your pamphlet that I kept a saloon, for I never did. But 'jump on me all you like, for the more you pound me the 'more votes I'll get in my district."

Received when elected, 4,802 votes; John V. Campbell, County democrat and republican, 4,201; Charles A. Herrman, Voorhis democrat, 561; Charles Finkenstaedt, socialistic-labor, 220; Frank Merkel, Tammany home rule association, 150. Total number of votes cast, 10,077.

Member of standing committees (1) on insurance, (2) on labor and industries, (3) on public printing, and (4) on unfinished business.

He introduced 5 bills. Among them were:—

No. 201. Requiring manufacturers of gilded ware to stamp their names and addresses on their manufactures, and to mark their manufactures "Gold Leaf Gilt," or "Imitation Gilt," as the case might be. A strike.*

No. 307. Requiring sellers of cigarettes to procure licenses from the board of excise. A strike.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE

* Did not become law.

THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	DID NOT VOTE

WALTER G. BYRNE, 16th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[16th assembly district bounded by E. 26th St., East River, E. 14th St., and 3d Ave.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. NO KNOWN OCCUPATION BUT POLITICS.

House, 338 E. 19th Street.

Mr. Byrne was born in New York City, 24th January, 1859, of Irish parents, and was educated in the public schools. He was for fifteen years a clerk for J. McCurdy, a tailor, by whom he says that he is still employed. He was a member of assembly in '90 and '91, and made a bad record. He is a man of no force or influence. He is ready to perform the bidding of his owner, Senator Edward P. Hagan, and his vote is always at the service of Tammany Hall.

Mr. Byrne made this year a worse record than his bad record of 1891. His associates were more reputable than heretofore, but his course was that of a confirmed striker and tool of the lobbyists.

Received when elected, 4,562 votes; Daniel Clancy, county democrat and republican, 2,311; John J. Farrell, Voorhis democrat, 608. William Schuler, socialistic-labor, 175. Total number of votes cast, 7,746.

Member of standing committees (1) on railroads, (2) on claims, and (3) on federal relations.

He introduced 12 bills. Among them were:—

No. 270. Enforcing the payment of personal taxes. Became law. Chapter 58, laws of 1892.

No. 271. Amending section 1904 of the Code of Civil

Procedure, by increasing from \$5,000 to \$10,000 the amount which may be recovered for death due to negligence.*

No. 799. Making Good Friday a legal holiday.*

No. 1240. Amending sections 52, 53, 54, 55, and 961 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, by providing for two additional parts of the court of general sessions in New York.*

No. 1248. Amending sections 1515, 1516, 1517, 1523, 1529 and 1531, of the Consolidation Act, by providing for the election of an additional judge of General Sessions, and for the appointment of court officers, and the holding of terms of the court, pursuant to bill No. 1240.*

Nos. 1254 and 1429. Authorizing the East River Gas Company of Long Island City to lay pipes and to furnish gas and electricity in New York City. Became law. Chapter 338, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL . . . DID NOT VOTE	
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL.	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

THOMAS J. McMANUS, 17th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[17th assembly district bounded by W. 52d St., 7th Ave., W. 40th St., and Hudson River.]

NEW YORK (VOORHIS) DEMOCRAT. CONTRACTOR

House, 456 W. 49th Street.

Mr. McManus was born in New York City, March 4th, 1864, of Irish parents, and received his education in the

* Did not become law.

public schools. He is, and has been for some time, a contractor, doing work in the annexed district. This is his first public office. He was formerly a County democrat, but is now a member of the democratic faction headed by police justice Voorhis, and known as the New York Democracy. Mr. McManus was endorsed by the Tammany democracy, and his election was due to their support. He is the personal representative on the floor of the assembly of Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. McManus's record during the past session was bad. While professing to act with independence, and at times attacking Tammany, he arrayed himself upon the wrong side of many important questions. He proclaimed himself upon the floor of the assembly chamber the friend of the liquor-dealers. He voted against the Farquhar election inspectors bill, more for the reason, apparently, that his faction would not receive any inspectors under its provisions, than because he opposed the principle of the bill. In matters not of a political nature his record was questionable, and several of his bills bear a suspicious resemblance to strikes. Mr. McManus seemed to want to create the impression that he was opposed to Tammany Hall. His insincerity was apparent, however, and resulted in making him unpopular with that organization, while it lost him the respect of others. Mr. McManus is superior in intelligence to some of the other members of the city delegation, and this fact, together with the comparative independence of his political position, makes his course the more to be condemned.

Received when elected, 6,676 votes ; Francis A. Higgins, republican, 4,385 ; George Warner, County democrat, 680 ; Peter Blumler, socialistic-labor, 239. Total number of votes cast, 12,169.

Chairman standing committee (1) on claims ; member

of standing committees, (2) on banks, (3) on public health, and (4) on trades and manufactures.

He introduced 11 bills. Among them were:—

Nos. 661 and 1282. Providing for the placing of electric fire alarm gongs in sleeping rooms of hotels, to be rung in case of fire.*

No. 967. Reducing ferriage on the 42d Street Weehawken ferry.*

Nos. 771 and 1025. In its first form, this bill provided for certain stringent regulations in the manner of operating street surface railways, required companies to clean streets between and adjacent to their tracks, prohibited the running of open cars on "wet or rainy days, or when the weather is inclement, or not suitable to the comfort of passengers," and required companies to heat all their cars in winter.*

No. 1018. Authorizing the dock commissioners to set aside "not less than one pier and two bulkheads, or two piers and four bulkheads" between Market and 125th Streets along the East River, and between Canal and 17th Streets along the North River, for the use of vessels, upon the payment of regular wharfage.*

No. 1331. Exempting bank cashiers and tellers, their assistants, and army and navy veterans of the rebellion from jury duty. Similar to the McMahon senate bill.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	No
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	DID NOT VOTE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	DID NOT VOTE

* Did not become law.

DANIEL F. MARTIN, 18th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[18th assembly district bounded by E. 42d St., East River, E. 26th St., 3d Ave., E. 23d St., and Lexington Ave.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAWYER, *49-51 Chambers Street.*

House, 314 East 37th Street.

Mr. Martin was born in New York City, 1st February, 1865, of Irish parents. He was educated in parochial and public schools, and the College of the City of New York. He worked as a school teacher, and studied law at the same time. He was admitted to the bar, and became a clerk in the office of United States District Attorney Walker. He now has a law office with ex-assemblyman Holcomb at 49-51 Chambers Street. He served in assembly in 1891 and made a fair record. Mr. Martin is an honest man of considerable ability, but is averse to taking a prominent part in proceedings in the Assembly.

The promise which Mr. Martin gave in 1891 of making a better record, he did not fulfil, and as a whole, his record is bad. He voted for all the bad bills, whether political or not, that were favored by the bosses of his party. He did not, however, take an active part in any of the iniquitous legislation of the session, beyond voting for the bills. As before, he showed no inclination to dodge votes. He was regular in attendance, and held aloof from the disreputable members of the legislature. He was singled out for criticism for declining to introduce the telephone subscribers bill; but no suspicion of dishonesty attached to him, as it was well known that the bill was declined by various other members of integrity who refused to introduce it because of its questionable provisions. His subserviency in voting for such measures as the Huckleberry Bill, served to

illustrate the result of the Tammany influence upon a man of fair capacity and otherwise good instincts.

Received when elected, 5,821 votes; Patrick Collins, republican, 2,334; Dominick Snyder, County democrat, 341; Ernest Leupp, socialistic-labor, 125. Total number of votes cast, 8,728.

Chairman standing committee (1) on electricity, gas and water supplies; member of standing committees (2) on judiciary, and (3) on military affairs.

He introduced 6 bills. Among them were:—

Nos. 559 and 1148. Providing for the inspection of certain corporations incorporated under the laws of other states, and doing business within the state of New York.*

No. 594. Extending the life of the Board of Electrical Control for one year from November, 1892. Introduced in senate by Mr. Hagan. An annual bill, supposed to be in the interest of Commissioner Jacob Hess. Became law. Chapter 263, laws of 1892.

No. 118. Appropriating \$70,000 annually for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, upon condition that it be kept open Sunday afternoons and two evenings each week. Introduced in senate by Mr. McMahon. Became law. Chapter 419, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	DID NOT VOTE

* Did not become law.

JOHN CONNELLY, 19th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[19th assembly district includes all of Manhattan Island north of West 52d St., and west of 7th Ave. and Central Park.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. REAL ESTATE DEALER,
900 Columbus Ave.

House, 128 West 104th Street.

Mr. Connelly was born in Ireland, 10th April, 1857. He immigrated to this country in 1870. He was a plumber for five years, and afterwards a ticket-agent on the elevated railroad in New York for seven years. He was then a clerk in the sheriff's office in New York. For a number of years he had no regular business. Now he is a real estate dealer at 900 Columbus Avenue. He served in the assembly in '88, '89, '90, and '91, and has shown a steady improvement year by year. During these years, in the face of strong and corrupt opposition, Mr. Connelly was active in opposing such iniquitous measures as the Cable Railway bill, the Aqueduct Claim bill, and the Stadler Dance House bill. He is to be credited with the passage of various good bills as well. His vote in favor of the Schaff Excise bill in 1891, and the Foley Excise bill during the last session, are, perhaps, the only acts for which he should be condemned during his service in the legislature. He has repeatedly voted in opposition to the bosses of his party. For this action, they have threatened to "turn him down." His return to the assembly last year, in spite of the strong and secret opposition within his party, is a vindication of his upright course. If one or two other Tammany assemblymen had been as honest and independent as Mr. Connelly, such iniquitous legislation as the "Huckleberry Railroad" and the East River Bridge franchise acts would not now be law.

Mr. Connély's record for the past session is fair. He maintained his reputation for honesty. His attitude in regard to certain partisan measures favored by the bosses of his party was independent and praiseworthy. He voted against the "Huckleberry" bill and the bridge franchise bills. He voted, however, in favor of the Foley Excise bill.

Received when elected, 10,191 votes; Samuel H. Randall, republican, 9,642; Frank E. Hipple, Voorhis democrat, 2,411; T. Hugh Boorman, County democrat, 947; William P. Young, prohibitionist, 226; August Theiss, socialistic-labor, 218. Total number of votes cast, 23,885.

Chairman standing committee (1) on insurance; member of standing committees (2) on ways and means, (3) on revision, and (4) on public lands and forestry.

He introduced 15 bills. Among them were:—

Nos. 55, 1342, and 1451. So amending chapter 407 of the laws of 1888, as to allow the park commissioners of New York City to connect the Central Park transverse railroads with other street surface railroads. Became law. Chapter 532, laws of 1892.

Nos. 387 and 667. Amending the Consolidation Act so as to allow the Board of Street Opening and Improvements to acquire title to lands for streets, etc., etc., in a much shorter time than at present. Became law. Chapter 535, laws of 1892.

No. 778. Creating a separate department of buildings, in New York City, and transferring to it the powers of the Bureau of inspection of buildings in the fire department and certain powers of the health department, and providing for more stringent regulations governing the erection and repairs of buildings. Became law. Chapter 275, laws of 1892.

Nos. 788 and 920. Appropriating \$50,000 for the American Museum of Natural History, upon condition

that it be kept open Sunday afternoons and two evenings a week. Became law. Chapter 270, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	NO
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	DID NOT VOTE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	NO
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	DID NOT VOTE

MYER J. STEIN, 20th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[20th assembly district bounded by E. 59th St., East River, E. 42d St., and Lexington Ave. Includes also Blackwell's Island.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAWYER, 31 Park Row.

House, 245 East 50th Street.

Mr. Stein was born in New York City, 6th December, 1865, of German-Hebrew parents. He was a reporter on the staff of *The Daily News*, and of the *New York Times* from 1882 to 1889. During a part of this time he was studying law in the office of ex-Recorder Smith. He has now a law office at 31 Park Row. He served in the assembly of 1890, and did not make a good record. He served in the assembly of 1891, and the promise he gave in '90 of becoming a bad member was amply fulfilled. He supported all the bad measures of the session, and had numerous schemes of his own. He proved himself to be an utterly incompetent and useless legislator. He is a constant seeker after notoriety, and loses no opportunity of bringing himself before the public. He exercises no influence, and is extremely unpopular. At the beginning of the past session

Mr. Stein endeavored to induce several of his fellow members to bring a libel suit against the City Reform Club for statements made in previous records, and volunteered to act as counsel for them, as well as for himself. When this plan was broached to Mr. Sullivan, he declined to enter into it, and advised Mr. Stein not to proceed, as there was danger that the statements made about Mr. Stein would be proved.

For the past session his record is thoroughly bad. He voted for all the corrupt measures, and his bill entitled "an act to prevent the commission of crime" was one of the most iniquitous of the session.

Received when elected, 4,997 votes ; Daniel O'Keeffe, county democrat and republican, 3,569 ; Charles Dorsch, socialistic-labor, 260. Total number of votes cast, 8,971.

Chairman standing committee (1) on public lands and forestry ; member of standing committees, (2) on codes, and (3) on judiciary.

He introduced 12 bills. Among them were :—

No. 15. Allowing newspaper reporters to be present at electrical executions. Became law. Chapter 16, laws of 1892.

Nos. 504, 892, 1143, and 1515. A bill entitled "An act to prevent the commission of crime." This bill provides that "Every person who shall entice, induce or inveigle "any other person to violate any statute, or commit any crime "for the purpose of informing against such person, or in order "to become a witness on the trial of such person for such "crime or offense, shall be deemed and held to be an accom- "plice in the commission of such crime, or offense, and shall be "subject to the same punishment and penalties as is provided "by law for the offense or crime committed."

The effect of this bill would be to subject to criminal prosecution anyone who should enter a saloon at any time

when liquor-selling should be unlawful, and who should then buy a drink with the intention of securing evidence of unlawful sale. The attorneys defending liquor-dealers in such cases would seek to stretch the words "entice, induce or inveigle," so that they would cover an ordinary unlawful sale of a drink, however freely the saloon might be doing business. It is evident, too, that an effort would be made to protect liquor-dealers against punishment for selling to minors, by seeking to make the minors accomplices upon the ground that they "enticed, induced or inveigled" the unsuspecting bar-tender into selling them liquor. The bill would also protect pool-sellers and policy men in the same way.*

Nos. 618 and 1180. Restoring hanging as the method of inflicting the death penalty.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE.
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE.
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	DID NOT VOTE.
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE.
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	No

LOUIS H. HAHLO, 21st ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[21st assembly district bounded by E. 86th St., the Transverse Road in Central Park, Lexington Ave., 40th St., 7th Ave., W. 59th St., and 8th Ave., to the Transverse Road.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAWYER, 280 Broadway.

House, 19 E. 53d Street.

Mr. Hahlo was born in New York City, 17th January, 1865, of German parents. He was educated at the public

* Did not become law.

schools and the College of the City of New York. He was graduated from the Columbia College Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1884. He now has an office at No. 280 Broadway. He has not held public office before this year.

Mr. Hahlo did not play a prominent part in the assembly, and showed no fitness for his position. He usually voted on the wrong side, and such record as he made is bad. He held aloof from the disreputable members, and was not corrupt. He is a member who might improve with experience and the exercise of independence. He is under the control of James J. Martin, the Tammany leader of his district, and Senator Jacob A. Cantor.

Received when elected, 4,081 votes; Thomas B. Odell, republican, 3,898; Eugene Cohen, county democrat, 204. Total number of votes cast, 8,302.

Chairman standing committee (1) on charitable and religious societies; member of standing committees, (2) on revision, and (3) on judiciary.

He introduced 12 bills. Among them were:—

No. 1279. Empowering the board of police of New York to appoint the ballot clerks, and allowing the inspectors of elections to turn over to any policeman the registry books when the inspector who has charge of the lists is absent.*

Nos. 970 and 1280. To prevent a debtor's giving one or more of his creditors a preference over others by means of judgments.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	DID NOT VOTE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL . . .	AYE

* Did not become law.

THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	AYE

WILLIAM J. O'DAIR, 22d DISTRICT.

[22d assembly district, bounded by E. 91st St., East River, E. 59th St., Lexington Ave., E. 86th St., and 5th Ave.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. MECHANICAL ENGINEER, 2 and 4
Howard Street.

House, 111 East 89th St.

Mr. O'Dair was born in Kempville, Canada, 16th September, 1862, of Irish-Canadian father and American mother. He was educated in the Kempville schools, the Christian Brothers' school of Ogdensburg, and the evening school at Watertown. He came to New York and was employed as a machinist by the Elevated Railroad Company of this city. He was appointed to a place in the bureau of construction of the U. S. navy at Brooklyn, by Secretary Tracy. He is now a member of the firm of Foster and O'Dair, mechanical engineers, at 2 and 4 Howard Street. Mr. O'Dair ran for assembly in 1886, '87, and '88, as a labor candidate, and was defeated. He was nominated by the People's Municipal League last fall as an independent candidate, and was endorsed by the republicans, the county democrats, and the Citizens' Association of the 22d district. To this support, he owed his election in a strong Tammany district. After the election, and when it was decided that the assembly would be democratic, Mr. O'Dair, despite the wishes of his constituents, and against the principles which he was elected to represent, proclaimed himself a Tammany democrat. He acted with that organization throughout the session.

Mr. O'Dair's record for the past session is not good. He voted for the "Huckleberry Railroad" bill, the Farquhar election inspectors bill, and regularly for the jobs favored by the bosses of the democratic party. He voted against the Central Park Speedway bill, and in favor of advancing the Blanket Ballot Reform bill, thus keeping his pledge made last fall. Little else can be said in his favor. He exercised no influence, and displayed no qualities which would render his re-election desirable. He suffered in the estimation of the better members of the legislature because of the partisan position which he took after the election. He was not trusted by the Tammany delegation, although he proved faithful to them.

Received when elected, 9,252 votes; Joseph Blumenthal, Tammany democrat, 8,819; Fritz Hirschy, Voorhis democrat, 852; James J. Daly, socialistic-labor, 833. Total number of votes cast, 20,032.

Member of standing committees (1) on electricity, gas, and water supply, (2) on fisheries and game, and (3) on trades and manufactures.

He introduced 7 bills. Among them were:—

No. 1229. Exempting ballot clerks from jury duty. Became law. Chapter 547, laws of 1892.

No. 1523. Requiring that contracts for paving and grading streets in New York and Brooklyn should be given only to citizens of the state, and that only citizens of the United States should be employed upon such contracts, and requiring further that all streets newly opened should be paved with block stone pavement only.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE

* Did not become law.

THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL . . .	NO
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL.	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	AYE
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	AYE

GEORGE P. WEBSTER, 23d ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[23d assembly district bounded by E. 91st St., 5th Ave., Transverse Road, 8th Ave., 110th St., 7th Ave., Harlem River and East River. Also includes Ward's and Randall's Island.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAWYER, *38 Park Row.*

House, 60 East 127th Street.

Mr. Webster was born in Watertown, Connecticut, 24th June, 1828, of American parents. He was educated in the Lancastrian school in New Haven. He spent several years at the mines in California. He studied law in Campbell County, Kentucky, and was admitted to the Kentucky bar in 1854. He was city attorney of Newport, Kentucky, and county attorney of Campbell County, Kentucky, from 1854 to 1858, and a member of the Kentucky legislature in 1861. He entered the Federal army in 1863, was promoted through various grades, and was mustered out as colonel in 1866. He came to New York, and is now practising law at 38 Park Row. He was candidate for police justice in 1872, and for civil justice in 1880, and was defeated. After the war he was a republican. He has been a member of Tammany Hall for a number of years. He was a member of assembly in 1890, and made a good record. He served in the assembly of 1891, and did not do as well as in 1890. He did not take his former stand against corrupt legislation, and introduced many of the Tammany schemes, both political and otherwise.

In the Assembly he was the representative of Thomas F. Gilroy, commissioner of public works of New York City.

Mr. Webster's record for the past session is bad. He threw off the mask of respectability which he had worn, and appeared as the sponsor of some of the most shameless measures of the session. He again championed the "Huckleberry Railroad bill," and stood by it until it was passed. He did not do as much of the Tammany partisan work during the session as heretofore. He devoted his time to other and more personal matters, and seemed well satisfied that the mantle of leadership had fallen upon other shoulders. Although he displayed great activity, it is a noteworthy fact that several of Mr. Webster's bills which might have proved distasteful in certain quarters, never got beyond the third reading.

Received when elected, 12,899 votes; William Johnson, republican, 9,376; Benjamin Franklin, county democrat, 1,617; Samuel Majower, socialistic-labor, 420; James Wilkinson, prohibitionist, 159. Total number of votes cast, 24,590.

Chairman standing committee (1) on affairs of cities; member of standing committees (2) on codes, (3) on public institutions, and (4) on soldiers' home.

He introduced 24 bills. Among them were:

No. 17. Providing for the construction of a bridge across the Harlem River at Broadway. Became law. Chapter 232, laws of 1892.

Nos. 18 and 467. To provide for the construction of a new bridge across the Harlem River at Third Avenue, and for the removal of the present bridge at that point. Became law. Chapter 413, laws of 1892.

No. 20. Requiring that when streets are being re-paved, street surface railway companies be compelled to re-pave, at

their own expense, that part of the street within the rails of their road, and two feet each side.*

No. 21. "The Huckleberry Railroad bill." Became law. Chapter 340, laws of 1892. A vicious bill. (See histories of bills, page 22.)

No. 22. Practically amending chapter 346 of the laws of 1889, by a further appropriation of \$3,000,000, not more than one half to be issued in any one year, for the purpose of repaving streets in New York City. Became law. Chapter 35, laws of 1892.

No. 23. Giving the commissioner of public works in New York City power to designate the style of rail to be used upon street surface railways. Known as the grooved rail bill.*

No. 257. Continuing the commission appointed to inquire into the desirability of consolidating into one municipality the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and surrounding suburbs, and providing for the submission of a charter for the proposed city. Known as the "Greater New York Bill." Introduced in Senate by Mr. Cantor.*

No. 616. Abolishing the aqueduct commission, and transferring its powers to the department of public works. Introduced in senate by Mr. Brown.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . .	DID NOT VOTE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	No
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	AYE

* Did not become law.

JAMES L. WELLS, 24th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

[24th assembly district includes all that part of the city north and east of the Harlem River, comprising the 23d and 24th wards, and known as the "annexed district."]

REPUBLICAN. REAL ESTATE BROKER, 59 *Liberty Street.*

House, 267 Alexander Avenue.

Mr. Wells was born in West Farms (now in New York City), 16th December, 1843. He received his education at the public schools and Columbia College, being graduated in 1865. He is a real estate broker and auctioneer, dealing in property north of the Harlem River. He early became interested in politics, and was elected a member of the board of education in West Farms in 1869, continuing to serve in that capacity until the annexation of that town to New York. He was a member of assembly from the 1st district of Westchester in 1879; and after annexation, from the 24th assembly district of New York in 1880. He was a member of the Board of Aldermen from the same district in 1881, '82, and '83. He was re-nominated at the end of this term, but was defeated. Mr. Wells is a man of ability and respectability, and is a vast improvement upon his predecessor, Christopher C. Clark. Mr. Wells's election last fall was due to the aid rendered by the independent Citizens' Association of the annexed district, which, combining with the republicans, elected all the local officers. He appeared in the assembly as the representative and spokesman of Commissioner Heintz. Mr. Wells's record for the past session is fair. Most of his bills were of a special character, introduced for the purpose of benefiting his district. He voted for the "Huckleberry Railroad bill" in its amended form, upon the ground that it would probably benefit his district more than it would harm the

city. He voted against the Central Park Speedway bill, but his action subsequently was most peculiar. When the repeal bill was upon its final passage, he asked to be excused from voting, and his request was granted by the assembly. His excuse was that, as he had voted against the original speedway bill, it was not necessary for him to show his opposition to the scheme again by voting for the repeal. At this time the repeal bill was in grave danger of defeat, and Mr. Wells, whose name is nearly at the end of the roll call, could not but have been aware of the value of his vote. Mr. Wells's course in the matter is difficult to explain, except upon the supposition that his friendship for Mr. De La Vergne, the chief lobbyist against the repeal, who employs numerous men in his factory in Mr. Wells's district, was stronger than the voice of the great mass of the people. But for this action, and a somewhat hasty and intemperate manner at times, Mr. Wells's record would have been much better.

Received when elected, as candidate of the Republican party, the County democracy, and the Citizen's Local Improvement party, 7,215 votes; Thomas J. Byrne, Tammany and Voorhis democracy, 6,308; Anton Frank, socialistic-labor, 269; Henry S. Brown, prohibitionist, 103. Total number of votes cast, 14,200.

Member of standing committees (1) on excise, and (2) on trades and manufactures.

He introduced 18 bills. Among them were:—

No. 68. To provide for the repaving of Third Avenue from the Harlem River to 170th Street. Became law. Chapter 305, laws of 1892.

No. 734. To provide for the construction of a bridge over the Harlem River from 145th Street to 149th Street.*

No. 1131. Fixing at six months the sentence of all

* Did not become law.

persons committed in New York City for intoxication, disorderly conduct, or vagrancy, but empowering the commissioners of charities and corrections to discharge prisoners so committed before the expiration of this term. An old bill. Introduced in Senate by Mr. Roesch.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	No
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	DID NOT VOTE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	No
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	No
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL . . .	No
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	DID NOT VOTE
THE BLANKET BALLOT BILL	AYE
THE JUDICIAL ASSESSMENT BILL	DID NOT VOTE

SENATORS.

WILLIAM L. BROWN, 5th SENATE DISTRICT.

[5th senate district includes all of city south of a line following Leroy St., Bleecker St., Hancock St., Houston St., Bowery, Chatham St., and Roosevelt St. Includes also Staten Island, Governor's, Bedloe's and Ellis Islands.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. BUSINESS MANAGER AND EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS, 25 Park Row.

House, 64 West 72d Street.

Mr. Brown was born in Chittenden County, Vermont, 25th December, 1840, of Irish parents. He taught school in Ohio and Mississippi for several years. Upon the breaking out of the war, he left the south, and served in the 88th and the 125th Ohio volunteers. After the close of the war, he went west, joined the democratic party in Montana, and

* Did not become law.

was appointed clerk of the territorial legislature. Returning to Ohio, he founded the *Youngstown Vindicator*. He was candidate for the state senate in 1875, but was defeated. Was aide-de-camp to Governor Allen of Ohio, with the rank of colonel. Came to New York a few years later and became interested in the *Daily News*, of which journal he is now business manager and part proprietor. He served in the senate in 1890, and made a fairly good record. Mr. Brown is an honest man, and one of the best representatives his district has sent to Albany. He professes to be independent, and at times, both upon the floor of the senate, and outside the chamber, threatens to vote against some steal favored by his organization. It cannot be said, however, that his vote was cast against any of the iniquitous legislation of the past session when it was necessary to the Tammany organization.

Mr. Brown's record for the past session in matters non-partisan, is fair. If he had acted as independently as he talked, not only would his record have been good, but he would have aided materially in defeating certain bad legislation. He was absent when the Plunkitt Central Park Speedway bill was passed, and posed as being against the scheme. He did not, however, vote for the repeal of the law, although he did not vote against it.

Received when elected (including the vote of Staten Island), 17,162; John H. Fanning, republican, 8,216; John C. Winne, County democrat, 2,350. Total number of votes cast, 28,481.

Chairman standing committees (1) on cities, (2) on grievances; member of standing committees, (3) on roads and bridges, (4) on public printing, and (5) on public education.

He introduced 11 bills. Among them were:—

No. 46. So amending section 507 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, as to allow newspaper representatives to be present at electrical executions, and as to permit the publication of accounts of executions. Introduced in Assembly by Mr. Stein. Became law. Chapter 16, laws of 1892.

No. 47. Providing for an issue of bonds to the amount of \$150,000, for the purpose of turning Castle Garden into an aquarium. Became law. Chapter 28, laws of 1892.

No. 323. Abolishing the Aqueduct Commission and transferring its powers to the department of public works. Introduced in Assembly by Mr. Webster.*

No. 782. Providing that the police commissioners, and two other citizens to be appointed by the supervisors, shall be the excise commissioners of Staten Island (Richmond County). Known as the Nicholas Muller bill. Became law. Chapter 404, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . DID NOT VOTE	
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL . . . DID NOT VOTE	
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL DID NOT VOTE	

JOHN F. AHEARN, 6th SENATE DISTRICT.

[6th senate district bounded by E. 14th St., East River, Roosevelt St., Chatham St., Catharine St., Division St., Norfolk St., Rivington St., Clinton St., and Ave. B.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. NO KNOWN OCCUPATION BUT POLITICS.

House, 41 Gouverneur Street.

Mr. Ahearn was born in New York City, 18th April, 1853, of Irish parents, and was educated in the public schools.

* Did not become law.

From 1867 to 1885 he was employed in railroad work in Castle Garden. Now has no known regular business except politics. He was member of assembly from the 4th district in 1882. He ran for assembly in 1884, and was defeated. He was appointed clerk of the Essex Market police court in May, 1885, resigning in December, 1889, to serve in the senate. He was member of senate in 1890 and 1891, and made a fair record. He was then a County democrat, and his partisan votes against Tammany Hall improved his record. Before the election of 1891, however, Mr. Ahearn joined Tammany Hall, and was re-elected by that organization. Mr. Ahearn is a quiet, unassuming member of the senate, and keeps fully informed upon legislative matters during the session. He is regular in attendance in the senate chamber and at committee meetings.

Mr. Ahearn's record for the past session is bad. The suspicion that his former fair record was the result of political affiliation, and not of a desire to benefit the city or state, was confirmed by his course. He showed no inclination to break away from machine control. He needed no prompting in casting his vote. On the contrary, when his name, which was first upon the roll of the senate, was called, he promptly voted for every vicious measure. In matters not partisan Mr. Ahearn's record is not above suspicion, and some of his bills presented the appearance of strikes.

Received when elected, 18,718 votes; Gabriel Marks, republican and independent citizen, 6,977. Total number of votes cast, 27,091.

Chairman standing committees (1) on banks, (2) on public printing; member of standing committees (3) on commerce and navigation, (4) on insurance, and (5) on public health.

He introduced 17 bills. Among them were:—

No. 34. Providing that all Long Island Sound steam-boats, or vessels regularly employed in the Long Island Sound trade, from points outside of New York State, and passing through Hell Gate, be required to have their landing places on the East River, north of Grand Street. Affecting the Fall River and other steamboat lines. An old bill.*

Nos. 510 and 806. Providing for the election of two additional surrogates for the City of New York. This bill was so amended as to provide for only one additional surrogate, and in this form became law. Chapter 642, laws of 1892.

No. 626. Providing for the appointment of a commission to locate bridges across the East River above Blackwell's Island.*

No. 862. Authorizing the board of estimate and apportionment to appropriate sufficient amounts each year to make up any deficiency in the police pension fund. Became law. Chapter 539, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE

* Did not become law.

GEORGE F. ROESCH, 7th SENATE DISTRICT.

[7th senate district bounded by E. 30th St., 3d Ave., E. 14th St., Ave. B., Clinton St., Rivington St., Norfolk St., Division St., Bowery, E. Houston St., and Broadway.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAWYER, *280 Broadway.*

House, 34 First Avenue.

Mr. Roesch was born in the City of New York, 19th June, 1855, of German parents. He was educated at the St. Nicholas Parochial School, De La Salle Institute of the Christian Brothers, and Columbia College Law School. Is now a member of the law firm of Roesch and Fennel, 280 Broadway. Mr. Roesch is an able man. He has been a campaign speaker in the democratic party since 1876. He was a member of the assembly in 1883, '85, '88, and '89. His record in 1888 was good. In particular he favored the passage of the Saxton Ballot Reform Bill, and spoke in its favor. In 1889 his record for the most part continued good, but he submitted to party dictation, and voted against the Saxton Ballot Bill. He served in the senate of 1890 and 1891, and made a bad record. During the session of 1891 he was identified with almost all the questionable legislation, and voted for numerous bills which were known to have money in them.

Mr. Roesch's record for the past session is bad. He somewhat improved upon the record made in 1891, in that his course was less open to the charge of dishonest motives. In matters affecting his organization, however, he was perhaps the most subservient of the Tammany delegation, not only supporting all bad legislation with his vote, but defending the most vicious bills when this was demanded of him. As

Mr. Roesch's ability is above the average, his course is to be the more deprecated.

Received when elected, 15,067 votes; John A. Dinkel, County, Voorhis and Steckler democrat, 9,535; Alexander Jonas, socialistic-labor, 1,059. Total number of votes cast, 26,041.

Chairman of standing committees (1) on judiciary, and (2) on privileges and elections; member of standing committees, (3) on insurance, (4) on erection and division of towns and counties, and (5) on joint library.

He introduced 47 bills. Among them were:—

No. 183. To establish a state printing office.*

Nos. 387, 632, 804, and 873. Providing for the appointment of a court of appeals reporter and a new state reporter, who, together with the reporter of the supreme Court, shall compose the "New York State Council of Law "Reporting," whose duty it shall be to prepare and have published for sale the New York Law Reports, the Supreme Court Reports, and Miscellaneous Reports. In its first form the bill would have practically prevented any publication of complete or authentic reports of cases in advance of the semi-monthly reports contemplated in the bill. The bill was subsequently amended in this respect, but still remained objectionable in the provision giving the governor of the state the right to appoint reporters of the courts. There was no reason why the present law, which provides for appointment by the judges of the courts, should be changed, except to put into the hands of political parties an additional number of offices which might be used to reward political workers. Became law in a modified form. Chapter 598, laws of 1892.

No. 502. Creating the office of counsel to the legislature at an annual salary of \$7,500. This bill was believed to

* Did not become law.

be in the interest of Professor Charles A. Collin of Cornell University, a personal friend of ex-Governor Hill. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Farquhar.

No. 539. Amending the municipal lodging house act of 1886 by making it mandatory upon the commissioners of charities and corrections to establish lodging houses, and taking away the concurrent powers of the board of estimate and apportionment in the matter.*

No. 565. Amending the municipal building act of 1890 by allowing the erection of the building in the City Hall Park. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Sohmer. Became law. Chapter 414, laws of 1892.

No. 712. Permitting the use of all parks except Central Park, Stuyvesant Square, and Madison Square, for public meetings. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Sohmer.*

No. 775. To provide for the inspection of certain foreign corporations organized under the laws of other states, and doing business within the State of New York. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Martin.*

No. 588. Allowing police justices to practice law in any but the criminal courts. Known as the Grady bill, and popularly supposed to be in the interest of Police Justice Thomas F. Grady. Became law. Chapter 550, laws of 1892.

Nos. 607 and 872. Amending the factory inspection laws by the addition of certain sanitary regulations, and provisions in relation to the making of garments in rooms or apartments. Known as one of the "Anti-sweating" bills. Became law in a modified form. Chapter 655, laws of 1892.

* Did not become law.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE

MARTIN T. McMAHON, 8th SENATE DISTRICT.

[8th senate district bounded by West 30th St., Broadway, West Houston St., Hancock St., Bleecker St., Leroy St., and Hudson River.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAWYER, *Times Building, 41 Park Row. House, New York Hotel.*

Mr. McMahon was born in La Prairie, Canada, 21st March, 1838, of Irish-Canadian parents. He was educated at St. John's College, Fordham. He was admitted to the bar, and is now a lawyer in good standing. He entered the Federal army in 1861, and was promoted through various grades to that of brevet major general. He was assistant adjutant general, department of the east, when he resigned in 1866. He was awarded a medal of honor by Congress for bravery. He was a special agent of the post-office department in 1858-59; corporation attorney of New York City in 1867-68; United States minister to Paraguay, 1869-70; receiver of taxes New York City, 1872-85; United States marshal, southern district of New York, 1885-90. He ran for Congress in 1868, and for judge of the superior court in 1867, but was defeated in both elections. He represented the 7th assembly district in 1891. No other democrat has ever been elected from that district. He made a fair record in that year. Mr. McMahon is a man of ability, and a capable member of the senate. He is ready in debate. He

follows the partisan lead too blindly, however, to make a good record.

Mr. McMahon's record for the past session is not good. In many cases he voted upon the right side, but he voted for all the bad bills which were favored by Tammany or the democratic bosses, even when he personally did not approve of them. He introduced a resolution for the appointment of a committee to consist of seven senators, to investigate the alleged combination of coal-carrying railroad companies. The resolution was passed, and Mr. McMahon was appointed chairman of the committee. Several preliminary reports have been made, and the committee is still sitting.

Received when elected, 13,601 votes; Lispenard Stewart, republican, 12,234; William T. Jerome, County democrat, 988. Total number of votes cast, 27,431.

Chairman of standing committees, (1) on general laws, (2) on military affairs; member of standing committees, (3) on judiciary, (4) on canals, and (5) on game laws.

He introduced 29 bills. Among them were:—

Nos. 18 and 373. Appropriating \$70,000 annually for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, upon condition that it be kept open Sunday afternoons, and two evenings each week. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Martin. Became law. Chapter 419, laws of 1892.

No. 22. Exempting from jury duty cashiers and tellers of banks, and their chief assistants. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Sulzer. An old bill.*

Nos. 149 and 695. Appropriating \$250,000 to complete the north end of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Became law with an appropriation of \$90,000. Chapter 410, laws of 1892.

No. 336. Providing for the appointment of an additional stenographer for the general term of the Supreme

* Did not become law.

Court, first judicial department. Became law. Chapter 231, laws of 1892.

No. 338. To establish a state reformatory for women, and making an appropriation of \$100,000 therefor. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Sulzer. Became law. Chapter 637, laws of 1892.

No. 345. Making more stringent the laws governing the temporary use or occupancy of sidewalks and streets, for building and other purposes, south of 59th Street.*

No. 542. Providing that when teachers or assistant teachers in public schools shall have been dismissed for lack of work, they shall have the preference in any new appointments.*

His votes were :—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL DID NOT VOTE	

EDWARD P. HAGAN, 9th SENATE DISTRICT.

[9th senate district bounded by E. 86th St., East River, E. 14th St., and 3d Avenue. Also includes Blackwell's Island.]

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. PROFESSIONAL POLITICIAN.

House, 3 Rutherford Place.

Mr. Hagan was born in New York City, 1st February, 1846, of Irish parents. He was educated in public schools and the College of the City of New York. He was formerly a saloon-keeper, but now he has no apparent occupation but politics. He was member of assembly in 1879, '80, '85,

* Did not become law.

'86, '87, '88, and '89, and made a bad record each year. He ran for alderman as an independent candidate in 1883, but was defeated. He was deputy commissioner of street cleaning in 1890, and after the resignation of Commissioner Loomis, acted in his place until the appointment of Mr. Beattie. It was said that Mr. Hagan declined the appointment as commissioner, and wished to be a police justice. He was persuaded, however, to serve his organization in the senate, where, as before, he looked out for his own interests with greater care than for the interests of his constituents. Mr. Hagan is an able political manager, as is evidenced by his wresting from the veteran General Spinola in 1888, the leadership of the 16th assembly district. He has made his power felt in Tammany Hall, and ranks high in that organization, to which he is most useful in Albany. Mr. Hagan is above the strikers and small rogues of the legislature, and keeps clear of small jobs. Such harm as he accomplishes he is careful and shrewd enough to keep beneath the surface as much as possible, using his energies in a way not likely to attract attention. He is popular with his fellow members in the legislature, and commands a number of their votes. This fact, together with his unscrupulous loyalty to Tammany leadership, make him dangerous to the state. Mr. Hagan is rarely heard in debate, but is active in committee work, and in a quiet way upon the floor of the senate.

Mr. Hagan's record for the past session is thoroughly bad. He voted for all the bad bills of the session, and showed a chronic aversion to all reforms. He objected to the advancement of the Central Park Speedway repeal bill, and declined to vote for it even when his fellow members of Tammany Hall were ordered to do so.

Received when elected, 22,989 votes; Frank Pisek, republican, 10,192; Leon Cohen, County democrat, 1,641;

Isaac Bennett, socialistic-labor, 1,191. Total number of votes, 36,520.

Chairman standing committee (1) on claims; member of standing committees, (2) on railroads, (3) on cities, (4) on commerce and navigation, (5) on poor laws, and (6) on manufacture of salt.

He introduced 17 bills. Among them were:—

No. 23. The "Anti-Pinkerton" bill. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Sohmer. Became law. Chapter 272, laws of 1892.

Nos. 196, 774, 803, and 1,548. Providing for the raising of the bridge of the New York and Harlem Railroad Company across the Harlem River, and for the changing of the grades of the approaches, and of the streets over and under the approaches. This bill in its final form provides that the city shall pay half the expense of the work, and provides for a board to represent the city, and for commissioners of assessment to assess damages to property. This is known as the Gilroy bill, and is a compromise measure. Became law in a modified form. Chapter 339, laws of 1892.

No. 220. Increasing the pension of the superintendent and the chief-inspector of police. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Sullivan. Became law. Chapter 52, laws of 1892.

No. 293. Creating a new bureau in the department of public works, and transferring to it the powers held by the commissioner of street improvements in the annexed district. This acts permits the continuing in office of Commissioner Heintz, but makes him subordinate to the commissioner of public works, and provides for the appointment of his successor by the commissioner of public works. The bill in fact repeals the law creating the office of street commissioner for this district, which was passed in the interest of Henry D. Purroy. The first election under its provision resulted in

a defeat for Tammany, and this bill is an attempt upon the part of Tammany to legislate Commissioner Heintz out of office. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Farquhar.*

No. 313. Continuing for one year longer the board of electrical control. An annual bill popularly known as the "Jake Hess bill." Introduced in assembly by Mr. Martin. Became law. Chapter 263, laws of 1892.

No. 569. The advisory committee's street cleaning bill, providing for the re-organization of the street cleaning department. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Dinkelspiel. Became law. Chapter 269, laws of 1892.

No. 682. To provide for a pension fund for physicians and employees of the health department, in certain cases.*

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL.	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL. . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL. . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL DID NOT VOTE	

JACOB A. CANTOR, 10th SENATE DISTRICT.

[10th Senate district bounded by East River, East 96th St., 3d Ave., 30th St. and 8th Ave.

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. LAWYER, 96 Broadway.

House, 140 East 104th Street.

Mr. Cantor was born in New York City, 6th December, 1854, of English Hebrew parents. He attended public schools and the law school of New York University. He was a reporter for the New York *World*. He served in the assembly of 1885, '86, and '87, and in the senate in 1888, '89, '90, '91. He is now a member of the law firm of Cantor,

* Did not become law.

Linson, and Van Schaick, 96 Broadway. Mr. Cantor is a prominent member of Tammany Hall. He is honest, but far too strong a partisan to protect the interests of the city when they conflict with those of Tammany. In intelligence and ability he is superior to most of the New York City members at Albany. In his first term in the assembly, Mr. Cantor's record was bad; but as he gained in experience, it showed improvement, until it may be said that it is now as good as that of a subservient Tammany partisan can be. He has been the leader of the minority in the senate, and the mouthpiece of ex-Governor Hill and Tammany Hall. At the opening of the past session he was elected president pro-tempore of the senate, and thus became the titular leader of the majority. In this position he was called upon to advocate all the schemes favored by Tammany Hall or the democratic bosses. The position, accordingly, brought Mr. Cantor frequently into unenviable prominence. He is ambitious, and has long been seeking promotion from Tammany Hall.

For the past session, Mr. Cantor made a bad record. He voted for all the Tammany bills. In matters not affected by partisan consideration or the influence of the bosses, however, he voted, as in former sessions, upon the right side, and his personal honesty still remained unquestioned.

Received when elected, 26,310 votes; Leroy B. Crane, republican, 21,683; Matthew F. Neville, County democrat, 1,868; Frederick J. Jahns, socialistic-labor, 633. Total number of votes cast, 51,244.

Chairman of standing committees (1) on finance and (2) on rules; member of standing committees, (3) on general laws, (4) on judiciary, and (5) on public education.

He introduced 55 bills. Among them were:—

Nos. 93 and 427. Providing for the repavement of Fifth Avenue, in New York City, and prohibiting the use of

certain parts of it as a thoroughfare for vehicles transporting merchandise.*

No. 100. Appropriating \$300,000 for the New York State exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair. Became law. Chapter 236, laws of 1892.

No. 126. Providing for the continuing of the commission appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the merits of the plan to consolidate New York, Brooklyn, and the surrounding suburbs into one municipality, and for the submission of a charter of the proposed city. Known as the "Greater New York" bill. Introduced in Assembly by Mr. Webster.*

No. 209. To establish a state park in the Adirondack region. Became law. Chapter 707, laws of 1892.

No. 313. "The Freedom of Worship" bill. Became law in a modified form. Chapter 396, laws of 1892.

No. 517. To provide for a pension fund for public school teachers in New York City.*

Nos. 634 and 716. Amending that part of the general railroad law known as the Cantor franchise act, relating to the sale of franchises at public auction, and the conditions upon which consents shall be given. Became law. Chapter 306, laws of 1892.

No. 687. For the appointment of a commission to examine the subject of taxation, and to revise the tax laws of the state.

Nos. 707 and 797. The congressional re-apportionment bill. Became law. Chapter 295, laws of 1892.

No. 755. Amending section 351 of the Penal Code in such a manner as to prevent pool rooms from carrying on their business. They now accept bets upon the payment of a small commission; and this subterfuge has enabled them,

* Did not become law.

under a recent interpretation of the law, to carry on their business unmolested.*

No. 858. Providing for the election of delegates in March, 1893, to a convention to revise and amend the state constitution. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Sulzer. Became law. Chapter 398, laws of 1892.

Special session bill No. 1. The state senate and Assembly re-apportionment bill. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Bush, of Ulster Co. Became law. Chapter 397, laws of 1892.

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE

GEORGE W. PLUNKITT, 11th SENATE DISTRICT.

[11th Senate district includes all that part of Manhattan Island north of W. 30th St., and west of 8th Ave., and all that part of the city north and east of the Harlem River known as the Annexed District, and comprising the 23d and 24th wards].

TAMMANY DEMOCRAT. HARBOR TRANSPORTATION AND CONTRACTOR.

House, 442 West 51st Street.

Mr. Plunkitt was born in New York City, 17th November, 1842, of Irish parentage. He attended public schools. He was for twenty-one years a butcher in Washington market. He ran for assembly in 1866 as an independent candidate, and was defeated. He served in assembly in 1869. He was alderman in 1870, '71, '72, and '73. Was later a deputy inspector of street cleaning under the police management. He

* Did not become law.

served in the senate in 1884-85, and 1886-87, making a bad record. Mr. Plunkitt is one of the Tammany district leaders, and is credited with controlling one or two others in like positions. He is a shrewd, unscrupulous, and successful political manipulator, and has become rich. His industry and pertinacity are remarkable, and continue while there is any prospect of their being successful in securing his ends. His knowledge of human nature is keen, and he met his first defeat, perhaps, in being forced to move the repeal of his Central Park Speedway bill, during the past session. Nothing but the fear of political death could have forced Mr. Plunkitt to take this step. He took it with such bad grace, however, that when the labor representatives appeared before the committees to urge the repeal bill, he insulted the delegation grossly.

Mr. Plunkitt's record for the past session is thoroughly bad. He had not been in the legislature since 1887, and his reappearance was the signal for the revival of many old schemes, and the creation of new ones. He presented a large number of bills, and, as usual, was successful in passing many of those which he introduced. He early recognized the ability of Assemblyman Sullivan to put through questionable legislation, and formed a sort of close corporation with him, which was most prolific of harm. Together they controlled most of the questionable legislation which the more powerful machine lobby was not interested in, and it was openly said at Albany last winter that "Plunkitt and Sullivan were making all the money." Mr. Plunkitt voted for nearly everything that was bad throughout the session, and if he voted for anything that was good, it was sure to inure to his own benefit, either to obtain an exchange vote or otherwise. He was chiefly instrumental during the past session in the passage of the verified excise complaint bill, by which the indicted excise commissioners escaped trial, and

the Central Park Speedway bill. Altogether Mr. Plunkitt's record was worse than that of any other member of the legislature. As long as he remains at Albany it will be necessary for the citizens to watch him closely.

Received when elected, 27,240 votes; Michael J. Fenton, republican, 20,099; Francis D. Hoyt, County democrat, 2,448; Jacob Klaiber, socialistic-labor, 879. Total number of votes cast, 51,555.

Chairman of standing committees (1) on miscellaneous corporations, and (2) on engrossed bills; member of standing committees (3) on taxation and retrenchment, (4) on railroads, and (5) on public buildings.

He introduced 54 bills. Among them were:—

No. 3. Providing for continuous trains over the 2d and 3d Avenue elevated railways, and the Suburban elevated railway in the annexed district, at a fare of five cents. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Webster and by Mr. Wells.*

No. 841. Requiring trains to be run over the Suburban rapid transit railway all night, at intervals of not more than half an hour.*

No. 4. To provide for the erection of a building for the 11th judicial district court, and the 7th district police court and prison, at some point between 42d and 59th Streets, and Tenth and Eleventh Avenues. Became law. Chapter 43, laws of 1892.

No. 111. Providing for the election of an additional civil justice in New York City, and for the division of the city into twelve judicial districts. The extra district to be in the upper part of the 12th ward.*

No. 9. Establishing a park police pension fund. Became law. Chapter 515, laws of 1892.

No. 339. Providing that the counsel to the sheriff of

* Did not become law.

New York County may be continued in office after the end of the term of the present sheriff, for five years, at an annual salary of \$5,000.*

No. 412. To provide for enlarging Riverside Park.*

No. 444. Establishing a new roadway along the West side of Central Park. Known as the "Speedway" bill. Became law. Chapter 142, laws of 1892. Repealed by Chapter 370, laws of 1892. (See histories of bills, page 33.)

No. 791. To repeal Chapter 142, laws of 1892, which established the Speedway in Central Park. Became law. Chapter 370, laws of 1892.

No. 825. To improve Jerome Avenue in New York City in such a manner as to provide for fast driving as contemplated in his bill No. 444.*

Nos. 507 and 591. To provide for the opening of 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, and 120th Streets through the grounds of the Bloomingdale Asylum, now owned by Columbia College. Became law by providing for the opening of only 116th Street. Chapter 230, laws of 1892.

No. 530. Providing for the acquiring of sites for police buildings in New York City and the erection of buildings thereon in the discretion of the police commissioners. A bad bill, giving the commissioners power to erect an unlimited number of buildings. Introduced in assembly by Mr. Southworth. Became law. Chapter 350, laws of 1892.

No. 605. Forbidding the use of Madison Avenue for an elevated or underground railroad, without the consent of a majority in value and in number of the property owners. Became law. Chapter 367, laws of 1892.

No. 839. Authorizing the board of estimate and apportionment to hear and determine the claims of Henry M. Tait, the expert accountant for the Fassett Investigating Committee.*

* Did not become law.

Nos. 194 and 1506. The verified excise complaint bill, under which the indicted excise commissioners escaped trial. Became law. Chapter 265, laws of 1892. (See histories of bills, page 52.)

His votes were:—

THE FOLEY EXCISE BILL	AYE
THE VERIFIED EXCISE COMPLAINT BILL . .	AYE
THE FARQUHAR ELECTION INSPECTORS BILL	AYE
THE HUCKLEBERRY RAILROAD BILL	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY BILL . . .	AYE
THE CENTRAL PARK SPEEDWAY REPEAL BILL	AYE

NEWSPAPER OPINIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF 1892.

“The Legislature of 1892 would have been incomparably bad if it had passed only those political measures which stand out most conspicuously upon its record. But as if to make its memory completely odious it put through a bewildering variety of jobs having no connection whatever with its original bald theft of power, or its main scheme for thwarting the popular will hereafter.”—*New York Tribune* (republican).
4th May, 1892.

“The acts of this Legislature have made every honorable citizen of the State blush with shame. This great commonwealth—the imperial State of the Union—has been held tight in the grasp of a band of political plunderers, and the pages of our statute books are indelibly stained with the black marks of their dirty and itching fingers. The past, as we have said, has no parallel for it; let us hope that the future will furnish none.”—*New York Mail and Express* (republican), *21st April, 1892.*

“A few good bills have been passed, but the record, taken all in all, is a record of shame.”—*New York Recorder* (republican), *22d April, 1892.*

“The Legislature which adjourned yesterday obtained power by a political crime which aroused the public conscience of New York as nothing has since the days of Tweed, and its abuse of power has deprived it the support even of the organs of the party. The most important measures of the session have been framed solely to perpetuate the power of political bosses, and to turn vast public contracts over to the spoliation of the politicians who thrive by private jobs.”—*New York Press* (republican), *22d April, 1892.*

“The record of the Legislature whose session closed yesterday presents one of the most disgraceful episodes in the history of this State.”

* * * * *

“Members of the majority in the Senate and Assembly have disre-

"garded the interests of the people, defied public opinion, discarded con-
"science and self respect, and bowed their necks submissively to the yoke
"of the bosses."

* * * * *

"Nor has the public found a defender of its interests in the Executive
"chair, whose occupant has also yielded submissively to the power of
bossism. The spectacle is one of shame and humiliation for the people of
"the State of New York."—*New York Times* (independent), 22d April,
1892.

"The Legislature has adjourned *sine die*, and no lamentations will
"be heard. It has not been a Legislature to endear itself to the people.
"It has saddled a lot of bad legislation on the State, and particularly upon
"this city, and the democratic party will be made to suffer for it. In all
"probability, the big majority which swept Mr. Flower into the Governor-
"ship will be reversed at the next general election, and the Legislature
"which has just adjourned can be held responsible for it."—*New York
Morning Advertiser* (independent), 22nd April, 1892.

"The Legislature adjourned at the appointed hour yesterday, without
"marring its closing hours with unseemly behavior or with jobbery. The
"finished record has in it much more to commend than to condemn. The
"great fault of the majority has been its subservience to party leaders in
"the matter of local and political legislation. Representatives of the people
"should act upon their oaths and their convictions, instead of taking
"orders from the bosses."

* * * * *

"So far as economy in the public expenditures is concerned, the
"Legislature of 1892 has done well. It has cost the people less money
"than its immediate predecessors have taken from them, and its tax levy is
"lighter than any levy but one for nearly forty years."—*New York
World* (democratic), 22nd April, 1892.

"The career of the Legislature is the strongest condemnation of that
"unworthy system of Boss government which has been developed in the
"democratic party of our State."—*New York Staats Zeitung* (independent
democrat), 22d April, 1892.

"It has not been a perfect session; those who have been active partici-

"pants in legislation will not claim that for it ; but it has not been a session
"of cant and hypocrisy."—*Albany Argus* (democratic), 21st April, 1892.

" To-day the Legislature adjourns. It has made a record which will
"wreck the democratic party in the state and nation in November."

* * * * *

" Jobs of surprising magnitude were put through under the party lash.
" Public opinion was not only disregarded, it was wantonly violated."

* * * * *

" The record of the Legislature is made, and it is one which should
"cause the people of the State of New York to hang their heads in shame,
"for after all the Legislature contained the representatives of the people."
Albany Morning Express (republican), 21st April, 1892.



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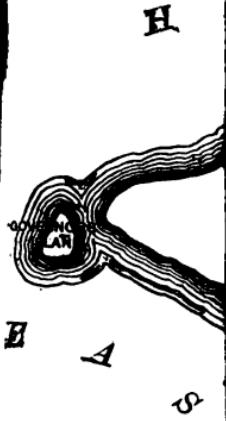
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